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Variant Entry Fees of the Stationers' Company

By W. A. JACKSON

IN his Lyell Lectures[1] Sir Walter Greg has provided students of English publishing practises of the century following 1550 with much that is new and far more that is for the first time accurately set forth, written with the clarity and precision which are to be found in all his work. So inevitable is it that this small volume will become the main guide to future students of the subject, that when, very occasionally, some of the statements in it may seem rather less than final it is more important than is usually the case to call attention to them.

When discussing the fees paid at the time of entrance of a book in the Stationers' Register,[2] Sir Walter, after citing fees ranging from fourpence to twenty shillings, and considering several explanations for this variation, finally concludes, "But there are seemingly insuperable objections to any explanations on these lines [such as size, importance of the book, or fees to outside licensers], and since I have no satisfactory solution to offer, I will

[1] W. W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford, 1956).

[2] *Op. laud.*, pp. 38-39. The manner of entry in the various record books is admirably described, pp. 21-38.

refrain from further conjecture." It is probably true that no "satisfactory" explanation can be set forth for all the recorded variant fees before 1582, when apparently they were fixed at fourpence for a ballad and sixpence for a book. However, besides the minimum fee of fourpence for small books and ballads, it can be demonstrated that during this period the normal fee for books of twelve sheets and over was one penny for three sheets. Sir Walter refers to an entry[3] by John Wight in 1559 of John Ferrarius's *A woorke touchynge the good orderynge of a common weale*, for which he paid fourpence with the added note "And at the fynysshynge of the sayde boke he shall paye for euery iij leves a pannye." To this note Arber has a misleading gloss: "4*d*. would at this rate, be the fee for 24 pages," for the word "leaf" was used by the stationers of that day interchangeably for "sheet," as, for example, in *Court-Book C*, p. 15, 6 August 1605: "Thom̃s Purfoote thelder Shall haue the woorkmanship of printinge one leafe of the prym̃ers for the company," i.e. one sheet of a two-sheet *The A.B.C. with the catechisme*.[4]

It seems probable that other factors than the number of sheets contained in the books were at times involved in the calculation of the fees. We must remember that the men who set these fees were professional printers and would be aware of the various means by which these charges could be circumvented, as for example by using paper of a larger size.[5] It seems also probable that allowance was made for the use of large type for the text as well as for the use of "white" letter, as roman type was usually

[3] Arber I.97.

[4] An edition dated 1605, collating A^8, B^4, with an unrecorded "TP" device of Purfoot on the title is in the Harvard Library. This division of work was often employed by the warehouse keepers of the English Stock to prevent a printer from overprinting, and keeping for his own profit, copies of almanacs and other patented books belonging to the Stock.

[5] In this they were probably wiser than the Commissioners of Stamp Duties who introduced in 1712 a tax per sheet on newspapers without specifying the size of the sheet; cf. *The Library*, 4th Series, XXII (1942), pp. 126-137. A postal rate based on the sheet, established in the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century, produced newspapers almost the size of bed-sheets.

called at that time, presumably because size for size more text could be set in a given area in roman type than in black-letter. In some instances the variant fees recorded present bibliographical evidence that is of utility if only in confirming hypotheses otherwise established.

The fees for nine books are cited by Sir Walter as illustrating the diversity of the charges. Let us examine them one by one, but, for reasons which may become apparent, in the reverse order of his listing. First, Sir Geoffrey Fenton's *Certaine tragicall discourses*, 1567 (STC 10791), for which Thomas Marsh paid, at two different times, fees totalling two shillings fourpence.[6] It is a quarto in eights collating *^{8}, **^{2}, A-Pp^{8}, Qq^{2}, or a total of seventy-nine sheets, which at the rate of three sheets per penny leaves one sheet over. The next example is the second edition of *A myrrour for magistrates*, 1563, for which Sir Walter cites only the fee of fourpence paid[7] for "the ij^{de} parte of [the] myrror of magestrates." Thomas Marsh had, however, a few days or weeks before paid[8] another fee of fourpence for "the myrror of magestrates," and in 1559 he had paid[9] sixpence for his original entry for the first edition published that same year. The first edition is a quarto of twenty and a half sheets, and so the original fee was apparently at the usual rate of three sheets per penny with two and a half sheets over. The 1563 edition is not a mere reprint of the first edition for it contains a new "second part" with eight new tragedies as well as Sackville's "Induction." The new material occupies just twenty-four sheets for which the two 1563 fees, totalling eightpence, work out at exactly three sheets per penny. Had no copy of the 1559 edition of this book survived, it would have been possible from an examination of the 1563 edition to deduce from the fees paid for it what was contained in the earlier

[6] Arber I.343 and 356.

[7] Arber I.208.

[8] Arber I.207.

[9] Arber I.97.

edition. The next book listed is an edition of Thomas Tusser's *A hundreth good poyntes of husbandry* entered by Richard Tottell in 1561-1562,[10] of which no copy can now be traced unless it be the copy in the Eton College Library lacking its title. W. C. Hazlitt, however, described[11] a copy of a 1562 Tottell edition as being a quarto of forty-eight leaves. Tottell paid a fee of fourpence which is exactly three sheets per penny.[12]

The identification of the next book, cited by Greg as "a translation of Josephus," is obviously wrong: though the entry reads "this boke of Josephus," it actually refers to Peter Morwyng's translation of Joseph Ben Gorion's *A compendious history of the Jewes commune weale,* 1558, which is an octavo of thirty-six sheets for which Jugge paid only fourpence.[13] On the same day that Jugge entered this book he made two other entries, one for two unidentified books which Arber conjectures were parts of the same book, for which he likewise paid only fourpence, and also for Joannes ab Indagine's *Briefe introductions vnto the art of chiromancy,* 1558, an octavo of sixteen sheets, for which he paid the same fee. On the grounds that the same fee was exacted for books of sixteen and thirty-six sheets, that the titles are given in the vaguest possible way—the Indagine is "the boke of palmestrye"—it would seem possible that the entry was made before these books were printed and that Jugge would be required to pay the rest of his fee when the number of sheets could be calculated, as in the case of John Wight cited above, but no second payment is recorded.

The next book is Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England,* 1577, two huge folio volumes which after much effort were

[10] Arber I.179.

[11] *Handbook* (1867), p. 618. Owen Rogers was fined two shillings in 1562 (Arber I.184) for printing an edition of this book, "beynge master Totteles," and the Eton copy might be his.

[12] John Day had entered the book in 1557-1558 (Arber I.78) and so Tottell must have acquired his rights from Day.

[13] Arber I.77.

finally issued by a family syndicate. John Harrison and George Bishop, his partner, paid a fee of one pound for the entry,[14] the largest fee recorded anywhere in the Register. The two volumes, with certain cancelled leaves, contain 741 sheets, which at three sheets per penny accounts for all but twenty-one sheets. It is possible that the clerk compounded for a round figure in the case of this enormous publication. On the other hand, it may be that the syndicate produced for inspection and gift to the Company (a copy was demanded, as was customary, in addition to the fee) a copy which lacked the table: A-M^4, N^2 of the second volume, or twenty-three sheets, either because the table was not yet printed or else in order to save the sevenpence involved. In this connection one should remember both the casual reasonableness of the stationers' "baker's dozens" and "extra copies," and the fact that a sixpence then would purchase a very good dinner.

The four remaining books do not fit the pattern of a normal fee of three sheets per penny (although one of them comes very near to it), but it is possible to suggest reasons why they should be charged more or less than the normal fee. For example, the next two books are both printed in roman type. The first of these is Thomas North's translation of Plutarch's *The lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes*, 1579, which is a large folio—copies are known nearly thirteen inches tall—printed in a pica roman letter which obviously contains many more ems to the sheet than most books of the period. It consists of 298 sheets for which Thomas Vautrollier and John Wight paid a fee[15] of fifteen shillings or about one and two-thirds sheets per penny. On the same day the Plutarch was entered Thomas Norton and Thomas Vautrollier paid a fee of thirteen shillings for the next book, Geoffrey Fenton's translation of *The historie of* [*Francesco*] *Guicciardini*, 1579, a folio of 303 sheets, printed in roman letter, which is very slightly less than two sheets per penny. The difference between the charge for

[14] Arber II.329.

[15] Arber II.351.

the Plutarch and that for the Guicciardini may be due to the size of the paper, and consequently of the type page, in the two works.[16] There are very few books of this period for which large fees are recorded which were printed in roman type[17] so that one cannot be certain that the type was a factor in the fee charged.

The next book is John Calvin's *The institution of christian religion*, 1561, a folio of one hundred and thirty-seven sheets for which Reginald Wolfe and Richard Harrison paid three shillings and fourpence[18] which at the rate of three sheets per penny leaves an overplus of seventeen sheets. The collation of this book is somewhat complicated, there being five alphabets of which two only are nearly complete, with several different sized quires, and this might just be a case of miscalculation. The last book, Greg's first, is the 1570 edition of Alexander Barclay's translation of Brant's *The ship of fooles*, a small folio of one hundred and seventy sheets for which John Cawood paid a fee of half a crown[19] or a rate of more than five sheets per penny. An examination of the book, however, suggests a possible explanation of this anomalous rate, for most of the text is verse printed in great primer black-letter with a very large amount of white paper, so that if the normal charge was based on a sheet of solid pica type then this book was properly given a lower rate.

It may well seem that if one has the temerity to suggest an explanation of a phenomenon such as these variable charges for entries one should at least produce an hypothesis which explains most, if not all, the examples, and yet, as we have seen, five out of the nine instances so far discussed do not conform to the normal

[16] The type-page in the Plutarch covers an area of 455 sq. cm. whereas in the Guicciardini it covers 364 sq. cm. or a difference of 25%.

[17] The only example that has been found on a cursory examination of these records is the entry for Edward Dering's *XXVII. lectures, or readings, vpon part of the epistle to the Hebrues*, 1576 (Arber II.302), a quarto in eights printed in roman type and containing sixty-three and a half sheets for which Luke Harrison paid two shillings fourpence, or a rate of two and a quarter sheets per penny.

[18] Arber I.153.

[19] Arber I.360.

and can only be explained by what may well be regarded as ingenious, though reasonable, guesses. However, if we take not a random sampling but every title listed on a given page of the Stationers' Register, for example Arber II.329, the page which contains the Holinshed discussed above, for which a variety of fees ranging from fourpence to the twenty shillings of the *Chronicles* were paid, we shall find rather more reassuring results. Of the nine books entered there, one, John Bradford's *Godly meditations,* 1578, has no fee recorded, and two were charged the minimum fee of fourpence because in the case of the Luther (STC 16989) it consists of only six sheets, and in the case of the Nausea (STC 18413) of only five.

The others, however, all conform reasonably closely to the norm, if we may include the Holinshed: the Grange (STC 12174) has eighteen sheets for which sixpence was paid; the Keltridge (STC 14920) has thirty-seven sheets for which twelvepence was paid, leaving an extra sheet; the Wotton (STC 5647) has forty-four sheets for which sixteenpence was paid which amounts to two and three-fourths sheets per penny[20]; and the Bourne (STC 3432) has thirty-five sheets for which twelvepence was paid which is again one sheet off. The only remaining book entered on that page is the Appian (STC 713) which has ninety-two and a half sheets for which a half crown was paid, or an overplus of two and a half sheets. This fee is of some bibliographical significance because in the beginning Henry Bynneman by himself apparently intended to publish merely the first

[20] The number of sheets in this book was taken from Hazlitt's *Handbook,* p. 679, which gives 176 leaves, information evidently derived from J. P. Collier. However, since the above was set up, it has been possible to see a microfilm of the Sion College copy, a quarto collating A-Y^4, Z^2, Aa-Qp^4, or 38½ sheets, which amounts to less than two and a half sheets a penny. More than an eighth of the book is set in roman with a small quantity of two column verse in italic. The book was divided between two compositors or presses, and it is possible that an error in casting-off gave the impression that the last two of the five histories into which the book is divided would occupy as many sheets as the first three, which would have given a total of at least 45 sheets, and that the fee was paid before the book was completed. The Sion College does not appear to belong to a condensed second edition.

part of the book, "the Romaine Ciuill warres," and a copy in the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library has an otherwise unknown cancellandum title with only Bynneman's name in the imprint referring solely to the first part which ends with the death of Sextus Pompeius. Bynneman's plans, however, were altered and a second part containing the civil wars to the death of Antony and "the Romanes expeditions against forraine Nations," published by Ralph Newberry in partnership with Bynneman, was added. The first part contains fifty-two and a half sheets, whereas the second part contains just forty. From the fee charged it is apparent that the change of plan was made before the Clerk of the Company recorded the payment of the half crown and therefore it is not surprising that only one copy has so far been traced with the uncancelled original title.

Random checking of the fees recorded in these early years confirms the probability that the normal fee was calculated at the rate of three sheets per penny. It is not unlikely that should someone have the leisure to compare all the entries of these early years with such of the books then entered as can now be traced he would be able to be much more categorical about such matters as whether the entries were often made before the books were in print, and whether leading, size, or kind of type were factors in the calculations of the fees, as well as many other particulars of entry-practises concerning which we have too little evidence as yet even to speculate.

De Morgan's Incorrect Description of Maurolico's Books*

By Edward Rosen

AUGUSTUS De Morgan (1806-1871), the distinguished mathematician and logician, published an essay *On the Difficulty of Correct Description of Books*,[1] which has become a minor classic[2] for those persons who concern themselves with incunabula and sixteenth-century printing, either because they must do so or love to do so (or perhaps both).

Devoting his fascinating essay to the enunciation of bibliographical principles which he illustrated by rectifying errors committed by other scholars, De Morgan prophesied with characteristic humility: "If we ourselves should have fallen into any mistakes, they will serve our purpose, as helping to prove the truth of our title."[3] It is the aim of the present paper to show that De Morgan did help to prove the truth of his title.

In the main his essay discussed four volumes, two of which were written by the gifted Italian mathematician Francesco Maurolico (1494-1575). Let us first examine Maurolico's *Opuscula mathematica* (Venice, 1575). "It consists," as correctly described by De Morgan,[4] "of a collection of tracts, and of a work on

* This paper was read to the University Seminar on the Renaissance at Columbia University on November 20, 1956.

[1] *Companion to the Almanac . . . for 1853*, pp. 5-19; issued with the *British Almanac . . . for . . . 1853*.

[2] De Morgan's essay was reprinted twice in 1902: by Aksel G. S. Josephson for the Bibliographical Society of Chicago in a limited edition of 300 copies, and by Henry Guppy in the *Library Association Record*, IV, 252-273.

[3] Ed. 1853, p. 19; ed. Josephson, p. 22; ed. Guppy, p. 272.

[4] Ed. 1853, p. 12; ed. Josephson, p. 12; ed. Guppy, p. 263.

arithmetic with a second title-page[5] of the same place and date as the first. . . . We find, on the verso of the first title-page,[6] a table of contents, at the end of which is 'Quibus omnibus, Arithmeticorum libri duo demum accesserunt.' "

On this statement in the *Opuscula mathematica's* table of contents De Morgan commented as follows:[7]

> *at last*, we are told, the two books of arithmetic are added. . . . Maurolycus died in 1575. We now learn the meaning of *demum*: the work had been waiting for the arithmetic, which the author could not or would not finish, and his death *at last* enabled the publisher to obtain the manuscript, and complete the undertaking. This view of the case is enforced by our finding the arithmetic wholly destitute of preface or introduction, with some gaps in the manuscript.

Convinced that Maurolico "could not or would not finish" the *Arithmetic*, De Morgan described it as "certainly unfinished."[8] Yet, as he himself pointed out,[9] it "is terminated by the announcement, that it was finished 'at the eighteenth hour of the Sabbath, July 24 . . . 1557.' "[10] It will be recalled that Maurolico divided the *Arithmetic* into two books. He declared that he had finished writing the first book on April 18, 1557,[11] some three months before he completed the second and last book on July 24, 1557.

In the face of these explicit and precise statements by Maurolico, why did De Morgan conclude that the *Arithmetic* was "cer-

[5] For a facsimile of the title-page of Maurolico's *Arithmetic*, see David Eugene Smith, *Rara arithmetica* (Boston and London, 1908), p. 351.

[6] For a facsimile of the title-page of Maurolico's *Opuscula mathematica*, see Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

[7] Ed. 1853, pp. 12-13; ed. Josephson, p. 13; ed. Guppy, p. 264.

[8] Ed. 1853, p. 13; ed. Josephson, p. 14; ed. Guppy, p. 264.

[9] Ed. 1853, p. 13; ed. Josephson, p. 14; ed. Guppy, pp. 264-265.

[10] Maurolico, *Arithmetic*, p. 175: "Libri secundi Arithmeticorum Maurolyci finis: hora decimaoctava, diei Sabbati, qui fuit Iulij 24^{us} Cum Messanae cum multo pontis et arcus apparatu expectaretur Io. Cerda, Methynensium Dux, Prorex. Indict. 15. M.D.LVII."

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 82: "Libri primi Arithmeticorum Maurolyci finis. Completus Messanae in freto Siculo in aedibus ipsius Authoris iuxta Caenobium Carmelitanorum, ad horam noctis secundam diei Dominici, qui fuit Aprilis decimus octavus, et sanctissimum Paschae festum. Anno salutis. M.D.LVII."

tainly unfinished"? Presumably he based this conclusion on "some gaps in the manuscript." The printed *Arithmetic* contains two blank spaces, of which one is marked "Here a few things are missing,"[12] and the other, "Here many things are missing which are not in the manuscript copy."[13] These two are the only lacunae in a work of 175 printed pages. According to De Morgan, Maurolico died in 1575 before he could fill these two gaps.

It is deeply to be regretted that De Morgan did not live quite long enough to benefit from the related researches of a younger historian of mathematics.[14] In 1875, four years after De Morgan died, an eminent Italian authority reported[15] the survival of a manuscript of Maurolico's *Arithmetic*.[16] This manuscript is preceded[17] by a letter which was written by Maurolico in the hope of persuading a cardinal to permit the *Arithmetic* to be dedicated to him. In this dedicatory letter, which was dated December 1, 1568, Maurolico mentioned that the *Arithmetic* had been "composed approximately eleven years before."[18] As we saw just above, both books of the *Arithmetic* were finished in 1557, some three months apart. Then the dedicatory letter, which remained unknown to De Morgan, provides additional proof that he erred in judging the *Arithmetic* to be "certainly unfinished."

Since the *Arithmetic* was finished in 1557, eleven years before the dedication was proffered in 1568, and since the dedication (which turned out to be abortive) was drafted seven years before the *Arithmetic* was published in 1575 (without an author's dedica-

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 29: "Hic pauca desunt."

[13] *Ibid.*: "Hic multa desunt, quae non sunt in exemplari manuscripto."

[14] Baldassarre Boncompagni (1821-1894). In like manner De Morgan's view of another aspect of Maurolico's thought was invalidated by subsequent investigations; see Edward Rosen, "Maurolico's Attitude toward Copernicus" (forthcoming in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*).

[15] Boncompagni, "Intorno ad una proprietà de' numeri dispari," *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, VIII (1875), 55.

[16] Codex vaticanus latinus no. 3131, fol. 8-167.

[17] Fol. 6r-7r.

[18] "Opusculum est anno ferme ab hinc undecimo contextum dudum" (Boncompagni, p. 56).

tion), why did the printed text have two gaps in it? A slight clue is suggested by the abortive dedication. At the point where our previous quotation from it broke off, Maurolico continued by relating that his *Arithmetic* had been

> copied by my nephew Francesco Maurolico, whose handwriting is unclear and not what I would have wanted, although as an amanuensis he lacks neither intelligence nor the will to work. The manuscript will have to be recopied and rearranged by an expert to enable the compositors to read it easily. Although the original draft of the work is written in larger letters,[19] I am retaining it without any good reason.[20]

Is it surprising that this original draft, which was written in 1557, was marred by one small, and one larger, gap when finally published eighteen years later in 1575?

Maurolico's dedicatory letter having failed of its purpose, the publisher composed a dedication of his own, which he dated July 26, 1575.[21] May this not reasonably be regarded as the day on which the work of printing the volume came to an end? If so, by a curious coincidence Maurolico died exactly four days earlier, on July 22, 1575,[22] just outside far-away Messina. Under sixteenth-century conditions of transportation and typesetting, no manuscript could possibly have been brought from Messina to Venice and printed on 175 pages in four days. Hence we must dismiss as unhistorical De Morgan's thesis that Maurolico's

[19] Unaware that there were two manuscripts of the *Arithmetic*, De Morgan spoke of "some gaps in *the* manuscript" [italics added].

[20] "Francisci Maurolyci mei ex fratre nepotis manu transcriptum, sed nec claro, et quali voluissem charactere formatum, quamvis scriptori nec acumen desit, nec industria. Opus erit libellum per virum eruditum ita rescribi, ac reformari, ut a typographis expedite legi possit. Habeo hic archetypum operis nequicquam tamen grandioribus notis exaratum" (Boncompagni, p. 56).

[21] Maurolico, *Opuscula mathematica*, fol. a2v: "Venetiis vii. Kalendas Augusti Anno salutis MDLXXV." For the activities of this publisher, Francesco dei Franceschi of Siena, see Ester Pastorello, "Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo xvi," *Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana*, V (1924), 28-29.

[22] According to his epitaph, as reproduced by Domenico Scinà, *Elogio di Francesco Maurolico* (Palermo, 1808), p. 222: "OBIIT XI KAL. AUGUSTI MDLXXV." See Edward Rosen, "The Date of Maurolico's Death" (forthcoming in *Scripta Mathematica*).

"death *at last* enabled the publisher to obtain the manuscript and complete the undertaking." In fact the publisher tells us in his dedication of July 26, 1575, that "in recent months . . . I supervised the printing of this book by that most renowned mathematician Maurolico."[23] Therefore the publisher obtained a manuscript of the *Arithmetic* months before Maurolico died on July 22, 1575.

Consequently there is no ground for supposing, as De Morgan did, that "the work had been waiting for the arithmetic." Nor is it true that "*at last*, we are told, the two books of arithmetic are added." When De Morgan said: "We now learn the meaning of *demum*," he chose a meaning in hopeless disagreement with the facts.

Does not *demum* in this context mean "at the end"?[24] In the *Opuscula mathematica's* table of contents, doesn't Quibus omnibus, Arithmeticorum libri duo demum accesserunt mean simply "To all these [tracts in the *Opuscula mathematica*], the *Arithmetic* in two books has been added at the end"?

De Morgan thought that we find "the arithmetic wholly destitute of preface or introduction" because Maurolico's death prevented him from preparing such preliminary matter. But, as we saw above, seven years before he died he tried to arrange a dedication of his *Arithmetic*. The failure of this attempt, not his death, explains why the published work appeared without a dedication written by the author.

Although a discreet curtain of obscurity was dropped over the circumstances leading up to the publication of Maurolico's *Opuscula mathematica* and *Arithmetic*, the publisher made at least one thing clear in his dedication. At first he was not the publisher, but only the printer:

[23] Maurolico, *Opuscula mathematica*, fol. a2r: "Cum superioribus mensibus (Illustrissime Princeps) librum hunc Celeberrimi Mathematici Maurolyci excudendum curassem . . ."

[24] Cf. *demum*, in the sense of "in the last place," as used by Maurolico in the dedication of his *Cosmographia* (Venice, 1543), fol. a4v.

In recent months . . . I supervised the printing of this book, and after the printing was finished, I then decided to publish it.[25]

When he decided to publish it, he selected the person to whom he wished to direct the dedication, and wrote the dedication himself. His actions reveal quite clearly that Maurolico's earlier effort to secure the support of the cardinal[26] was ultimately unsuccessful.

There are, then, four principal respects in which De Morgan's description of Maurolico's *Arithmetic* went astray:

(1) It is not true that "the author could not or would not finish" the *Arithmetic*, nor that it was "certainly unfinished." Maurolico finished it in 1557.

(2) Nor is it true that Maurolico's "death *at last* enabled the publisher to obtain the manuscript, and complete the undertaking." The publisher obtained the manuscript before Maurolico's death.

(3) "Our finding the arithmetic wholly destitute of preface or introduction" is not due to Maurolico's death. He attempted to dedicate the *Arithmetic* in 1568, seven years before he died. The *Arithmetic* as published was wholly destitute of dedication, preface or introduction, not because Maurolico died before he could write such embellishments, but because his negotiations for a dedication achieved nothing.

(4) The two "gaps" in the *Arithmetic* as published were due, not to Maurolico's death in 1575 before he could close the gaps, but to the defectiveness of the draft forwarded to Venice.

De Morgan discussed another of Maurolico's books, the *Cosmographia*. As he correctly noted,[27] "Maurolycus tells us, with the utmost definiteness, at the end, that the work was 'finished at

[25] Maurolico, *Opuscula mathematica*, fol. a2r: "Cum superioribus mensibus (Illustrissime Princeps) librum hunc Celeberrimi Mathematici Maurolyci excudendum curassem, eumque iam absolutum deinde edere statuissem . . ."

[26] Marcantonio Amulio or da Mula, who died at Rome on March 17, 1572; see Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (Münster, 1901-1913), III, 42.

[27] Ed. 1853, p. 13; ed. Josephson, p. 13; ed. Guppy, p. 264.

Messina, in the straits of Sicily, on Thursday, October 21, indiction ix, in the year of grace 1535, being the day on which the Caesar, Charles V., returned to Messina from his African expedition.' "[28] Furthermore, "the preface is dated 1540."[29] De Morgan reasoned as follows:

A preface, dated in February[30] 1540, of a work published in 1543, gives some presumption, not a very great one, of a previous edition in 1540 or 1541; rather too much to neglect, though far from enough to pronounce upon. . . . Thus, though inclined to believe that the edition of 1543 is really the first . . . we should not be at all surprised if an edition of 1540 or 1541 were to turn up.[31]

No such edition has turned up, because the edition of 1543 was indeed the editio princeps of Maurolico's *Cosmographia*. De Morgan believed that

though neither the Abbé Scinà, in the life of Maurolycus, nor the compiler of the list of works presently mentioned, notes any edition earlier than 1543, yet neither seems to have made much search, and both, to judge by their modes of description, would rest content with the earliest edition they happened to have seen.[32]

Scinà happens to be the author of what is still our most valuable monograph on Maurolico.[33] But even more astonishing than De Morgan's low opinion of Scinà's diligence was his failure to recognize "the compiler of the list of works presently mentioned." What De Morgan had in mind was that Maurolico's *Arithmetic* "has in it a list of works, distinguishing and dating those which were printed."[34] By an astounding oversight De Morgan some-

[28] Maurolico, *Cosmographia* (Venice, 1543), p. 103r: "Completum opus Messanae in freto siculo die Iovis xxi. Octobris. viiij. indictionis anno salutis. MD.xxxv. quo die Carolus V. Caesar ab africana expeditione reversus Messanae venit."

[29] Ed. 1853, p. 8; ed. Josephson, p. 8; ed. Guppy, pp. 257-258.

[30] Not February, but January 24, since Maurolico dated the preface "Nono Cal. Febr. M.D.XL." (*Cosmographia*, ed. 1543, fol. a4v).

[31] Ed. 1853, pp. 9-10; ed. Josephson, p. 9; ed. Guppy, pp. 259-260.

[32] Ed. 1853, p. 10; ed. Josephson, p. 9; ed. Guppy, p. 259.

[33] See n. 22, above.

[34] Ed. 1853, p. 13; ed. Josephson, p. 13; ed. Guppy, p. 264.

how missed the fact that the "compiler of the list of works" was none other than Maurolico himself. Had De Morgan been aware of his identity, he would not have lumped the compiler together with Scinà (who surely deserved better) and said: "neither seems to have made much search, and both, to judge by their modes of description, would rest content with the earliest edition they happened to have seen."[35]

If we now compare Maurolico's *Cosmographia* with his *Arithmetic*, we see a certain common pattern emerging. In the first place, both works were finished long before they were published: the *Cosmographia*, completed in 1535, was first printed eight years later in 1543; the *Arithmetic*, finished in 1557, was not published until eighteen years afterward in 1575. In the second place, the dedications of both works were dated well in advance of their publication: the dedication of the *Cosmographia* precedes the first edition by three years;[36] the dedication of the *Arithmetic* would have antedated the publication of the work by seven years, had the dedication been accepted (but it was not). Truly, the correct description of books (particularly, Maurolico's books) is difficult.

[35] Yet Maurolico himself is not infallible about his own published writings. In the "Index lucubrationum" which he appended to his *Arithmetic* (fol. Hhlr-2v) he wanted to list the second edition of his *Cosmographia*. What was actually printed (fol. Hh2v) reads as follows: "Et rursum Basileae apud Jo. Oponimum." This curious entry requires two comments: (a) the name of Oporinus (1507-1568), the publisher of Vesalius' *Fabrica*, can barely be discerned behind the typographical error "Oponimum"; (b) the second edition of Maurolico's *Cosmographia* was published, not at Basel by Joannes Oporinus, but at Paris by Guillaume Cavellat in 1558. See Edward Rosen, "The Editions of Maurolico's Mathematical Works" (forthcoming).

[36] Maurolico dedicated the *Cosmographia* in 1540, not 1543, despite Giacomo Macrì, *Francesco Maurolico nella vita e negli scritti*, in R. Accademia Peloritana, *Commemorazione del IV centenario di Francesco Maurolico MDCCCXCIV* (Messina, 1896), p. 36.

Some Early Editions of the "Consulate of the Sea"

By J. M. Edelstein*

THE "Consulate of the Sea" is a collection of maritime customs and ordinances which, as the result of centuries of experience, were compiled for the use of the "consuls," those magistrates in the port cities who judged cases arising out of commercial traffic on the sea. This body of maritime law which became generally accepted throughout the western and northern Mediterranean is made up of 294 or more, depending on edition, *capitoli,* specifying in detail the rights and duties of shipowners, builders, captains, crew, passengers, agents and owners of cargo, as well as the procedures in the maritime courts themselves. The origins of the "Consulate of the Sea," like those of the other famous medieval maritime codes such as the "Rolls of Oléron" and the "Laws of Wisby," have been lost, but their development paralleled, and was influenced by, that of the maritime and mercantile powers. The beginnings of the "Consulate," in particular, have been a matter of debate among students of maritime law. Although some have believed the "Consulate" to have had its origin in Italy, as a natural offshoot of the Pisan codes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[1] others, with more general acceptance, have held its origin to be Catalan,[2] dating it from

* I should like to acknowledge my gratitude to Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth, Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, whose suggestion prompted this article, for his generous help.

[1] Adolf Schaube, "Das Konsulat des Meeres in Pisa," *Staats- und socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen,* Band 8, Heft 2 (Leipzig, 1888).

[2] Frederic Rockwell Sanborn, *Origins of the Early English Maritime and Commercial Law* (New York, 1930), pp. 77-89; and Leopold Perels, "El Libro del Consulado de Mar," *Revista Jurídica de Cataluña,* Tomo XXIII, Año XXIII (Barcelona, Febrero-Marzo, 1917), *passim.*

the late thirteenth century[3] and considering it a codification of the decisions made in settlement of maritime disputes during the preceding centuries.[4]

The widest diffusion through Europe of the "Consulate of the Sea" took place after the appearance of the printed Italian editions and for years it was considered an Italian work;[5] its name is still usually given in Italian. Before the first Italian printing of 1519, however, at least five Catalan editions of the "Consulate" had been printed. The first printing was in Barcelona, about 1484.[6] Of this work only two copies are known: one, with some leaves supplied from the Posa edition of 1494, in the British Museum, and the other, once in the Huth Library, later acquired by Don Isidro Bonsoms y Sicart of Barcelona and left by him to the Biblioteca Central of Barcelona. It was from this latter copy that the handsome facsimile reproduction, with a preface by Pedro Bohigas, was made in 1953.[7]

The second edition, with revisions by Francesch Celells, was printed in Barcelona, by Pere or Pedro Posa, in 1494.[8] Of this edition also only two copies are recorded: one in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and the other, a mutilated copy, in the library of the University of Cagliari. Succeeding editions, all printed in

[3] Rafael Altamira, "Spain, 1252-1410," *The Cambridge Medieval History* (New York and Cambridge, 1932), VII, 598.

[4] Sir Travers Twiss, ed., *Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty*, Rolls Series (London, 1871-1876), Appendix-Parts II and III, III, lxvi. A descriptive list of the seven known manuscript codices of the Catalan *Llibro del Consolat* is on pp. 37-38 of the preface to the facsimile reproduction of the Barcelona, 1484, printed edition (Barcelona, 1953).

[5] *Llibre del Consolat de Mar* (Barcelona, 1953), p. 46.

[6] Konrad Haebler, *Bibliografía Ibérica del Siglo XV*, 163; Hain-Copinger 5645. Francisco Vindel, *El Arte Tipográfico en España durante el Siglo XV* (Madrid, 1945), I, 66, No. 34, attributes this printing to the press of Nicolas Spindeler in Tarragona in 1484.

[7] Copies of the facsimile are in the Library of Congress and the Harvard University Library.

[8] Haebler, 164; Hain-Copinger 5646; and Teresa Maria Guarnaschelli e E. Veneziani, *Indice Generale degli Incunaboli delle biblioteche d' Italia* (Rome, 1953), 3179.

Barcelona, appeared in 1502, printed by Johan Luschner;[9] in 1518, printed by Johan Rosembach;[10] and, again in 1518, printed by Carles Amorós.[11]

The first French edition, *Le livre du Consolat*, translated by Frances Mayssoni, was printed in Aix en Provence, by Pierre Roux, in 1577.[12] Before it, however, there had appeared the first Italian edition of 1519, translated from the Catalan by Jacobo Gelli,[13] the *Capituli et ordinatione di mare e di mercantie* ("Rome, Ant. de Bladi de Asola, ad instantia de Jacobo Gelli da Parpignano, 10 June 1519"),[14] as well as the nine subsequent editions, all Venetian, of 1539,[15] 1544,[16] 1549,[17] 1556,[18] 1558,[19] 1564,[20]

[9] Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Librero Hispano-Americano* (Barcelona, 1924), II, 268. A copy is in the library of the Hispanic Society of America.

[10] *Ibid.* No copy located.

[11] *Ibid.* No copy located. The Barcelona edition, printed by Dimas Bellestar and Joan de Gilio, of 1523 is also of unusual interest for its red and black title-page, its many woodcut initials, the woodcut border on fol. I, recto, and its woodcut illustrations. The title vignette shows a ship with the arms of Portugal on the full sails; it is repeated on the recto of the last leaf. On the verso of the last leaf, after the colophon, there is a woodcut of the Virgin suckling the Infant. There are four other woodcuts: one, on the verso of the title-page, of the city of Venice; another, verso of preliminary [a viij], of a man praying to the Virgin who is holding aloft in her right hand a palm leaf and in her left the model of a ship; the third, verso of cv, of a king on horseback; and the fourth, recto of cxxi, of a coat of arms. Copies of this 1523 edition are in the Library of Congress and at Harvard. The first Castilian translation of the "Consulate," *Libro llamado Cōsulado de mar*, was published in Valencia, by Francisco Díaz Romano, in 1539. Its title, printed in red and black within an ornamental border, is surmounted by a woodcut of sailors worshipping the Virgin and Child, with a ship in the background. There are copies in the Yale University Library and the library of the Hispanic Society of America.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 269; and Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* (Paris, 1864), II, col. 235. One copy, in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

[13] Adolf Schaube, "Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des Konsulats des Meeres," *Königl. Gymnasium zu Brieg. Bericht über das Schuljahr 1890/91* (Brieg, 1891), p. 21.

[14] Copies in the Library of Congress, Harvard, and the New York Public Library.

[15] Copies in the Library of Congress and Harvard.

[16] No copy located. Palau y Dulcet, II, p. 269; and Ernesto Moliné y Brasés, *Les costums maritimes de Barcelona universalment conegudes per Llibre de consolat* . . . (Barcelona, 1914), p. XCI.

1566,[21] 1567,[22] and 1576.[23] Of these Venetian editions, the most influential, from both a literary and juridical point of view, were the 1539[24] and 1549[25] editions: *Libro Di Consolato Novamente Stampato Et Ricorretto, nel quale sono scritti capitoli & statuti & buone ordinationi, che li antichi ordinarono per li casi di mercantia & di mare & mercanti & marinari, & patroni di nauili* ("Stampato in Vinegia per Giouanni Padoanno ad instantia de Giouan Battista Pedrezano. MDXXXIX"); and *Libro Del Consolato Nvovamente Stampato Con La Gionta Delle Ordinationi Sopra Legni Armati, e Sicurta, e Cerca lentrate, & vscite. Et vi si comprendono statuti, e boni ordini. Da gli antichi disposti per ogni Caso di Mercantia, o di Nauicar, pertinenti a Mercanti, a Patroni de Nauili, & a Marinari. Opera molto bellissima* ("In venetia al signo della Torre . . . per Giovanni Padoano ad instantia de Givan Battista Pedrezzano" MDXXXXIX).

The cuts which accompany this article reproduce the title-pages of the 1519, 1539 and 1549 Italian editions of the "Consulate" as well as the title-page of the first French translation of the *portolano rizo*: *Le Portulan Contenant La Description Tant Des Mers du Ponent despuis le destroict de Gibelter iusques a la Schiuse en Flandres, que de la Mer Mediterranée, ou du Levant, faict en vieux langage,*

[17] Copies in the New York Public Library, Duke University Library and the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

[18] No copy located. Facsimile of 1484 *Llibre del Consolat de Mar* (Barcelona, 1953), p. 45.

[19] No copy located. Palau y Dulcet, II, p. 269.

[20] Copies in the New York Public Library and the libraries of Yale, Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania.

[21] Copies at the Newberry Library and the University of Cincinnati Library.

[22] Copy in the Harvard University Library.

[23] This edition was the first to appear in two volumes. Two copies in the Harvard University Library. Palau y Dulcet, II, 269: *Esta edición publicada bajo los cuidados de Juan Bautista Pedrezzano contiene Il Portolano del Mare, de Pauli Gerardo. . . .*

[24] Max Sander, *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* (New York, 1941), 2100; Tammaro de Marinis, *Il Castello di Monselice. Raccolta degli antichi libri veneziani figurati* (Verona, 1945), p. 36; and Victor Masséna, *prince* d'Essling, *Etudes sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. . . .* (Florence and Paris, 1907-1914), Part II, p. 670.

[25] Palau y Dulcet, II, 269; and Moliné y Brasés, p. XCI.

& nouuellement traduict en Françoys ("Imprimé a Aix en Prouence par Pierre Roux MDLXXVII").[26] Not shown is the title-page of *Le livre du Consulat, contenant les loix et ordonnances, statutz et coustumes touchant les contractz, marchandises . . . , trad. de l'espagnol et de l'italien, en francois* (Aix en Provence, Pierre Roux, 1577) together with which *Le Portulan,* with its own title-page and separate pagination, was printed.[27]

These reproductions are illustrative of a long association of ideas in the hagiography of the sea and the transference of those ideas on the title-pages of books. The woodcut title-page of the first Italian edition (1), with the title part of the cut, shows a ship under sail above which, in the clouds, are the figures of four saints, all of whom have in common a tradition of reverence on the part of seafarers. The first figure on the left is that of Saint Anthony the Abbot, the fourth-century monk considered the founder of monasticism whose name was frequently invoked by sailors. The second figure is that of Saint Nicholas, the popular fourth-century Bishop of Myra, one of whose myriad functions was the guidance of sailors. Saint Elmo, the third figure, is another traditional patron saint of the sea; he was the fourth-century Bishop and martyr of southern Italy whose name was often invoked during storms and is associated with the phenomenon known as Saint Elmo's fire.[28]

The final figure is that of Saint Clare of Assisi, the thirteenth-century disciple of Saint Francis. The attributes of Saint Clare linking her with the sea and sailors are less obvious than those of the first three saints. However, if it is recalled that she was venerated as "the scourge of the Saracens" for her part in driving them away from Assisi, and, further, that Saracen pirates in the sixteenth century still infested the Mediterranean, it seems but natural that she be joined with the more traditional saints of the

[26] Copy in the John Carter Brown Library.

[27] Moliné y Brasés, p. XC; Brunet, II, col. 235; Palau y Dulcet, II, 269; and Sander, 2100.

[28] Saint Elmo is the Italian corruption of Saint Erasmus through Sant' Ermo.

sea on the title-page of a book for mariners printed at that time, especially a book concerned with the incidence of piracy when the words "pirate" and "Saracen" were frequently used synonymously.[29]

Title-pages II, III and IV also illustrate the interesting successive use of a specific design in the woodcuts on the title-pages of the 1539 and 1549 Venetian editions of the "Consulate," as well as the 1577 French *Portulan* and the 1577 French *Consulat* which it accompanied. The woodcut illustration on the title-page of the *Consolato* published in Venice in 1539 shows the obvious influence of the earlier Roman edition. The later woodcut is wider and shorter, to fit a wider and shorter page; instead of one ship there are two, both typical medieval vessels of the family of the round ship, one riding at anchor and taking on or discharging cargo, the other under way; there is greater refinement and sophistication of detail, line and shading. In the 1539 woodcut some changes have been made in the saints: Saint Clare has had a cincture added to her habit; Saint Anthony has had the bell and the Sacred Fire added to his staff to complete the manner in which he is often shown; Saint Elmo remains the same, as does Saint Nicholas, who is pictured holding the three loaves, or balls, on a book which represent his gifts to the needy. The four saints appear in both vignettes, however, in the same order, holding the same positions and attitudes, and the inspiration of the one woodcut on the other seems unquestionable.

The title-page of the Venice, 1549, edition of the "Consulate" reveals an impression from the same woodcut as that used for the title-page of the 1539 edition, with no changes at all. Although both the 1539 and 1549 editions were executed by the same printer, the wood block must have received excellent care to have survived ten years so well.

The title-page of the Aix en Provence *Portulan* of 1577, which

[29] This explanation was suggested after correspondence with the Rev. Damian Van den Eynde of the Pontificio Ateneo Antoniano of Rome.

we know to be illustrated with the same woodcut as that on the title-page of *Le livre du Consulat* bearing the same imprint, is reproduced in IV. This impression was made from a wood block copied with great care and with an obvious attempt at duplication from the block which had been used for the Venetian editions of 1539 and 1549. The list of details by which the print taken from the later wood block differs from the earlier one is a long one; some of the most apparent, however, are: alterations made in the shrouds of both ships; crosses added to the pennants flying from the masts of the ship at anchor; lines here and there have been strengthened, as in the rigging of the mainmast of the ship under sail; the raised anchor has been changed considerably; and the faces of all four saints have been altered. The features and the expression of Saint Nicholas' face are quite different, though its general appearance remains the same. Saint Anthony has had the *Tau*-cross often associated with him added to his cowl. The square design on the front of Saint Elmo's robe has been made into a large cross; Saint Clare's cincture has had an extra loop added to it. The entrances into the afterpart of the ship at anchor have been arched and made smaller than they were in the earlier cut.

The continued association of this specific quartet of saints for over half a century on the title-pages of four editions of the *Consolato del Mare* and one edition of the *Portulan*, printed in Rome, Venice, and Aix, prompts the question, for which an answer has yet to be found, as to the reasons for this particular representation and the persistence and travels of this design.

CAPITVLI. Et ordinationes Maris et omnium gentis.
S. Anto. S. Nicola S. Helme S. Chiara

I.

LIBRO DI CONSOLATO

NOVAMENTE STAMPATO ET RICORretto, nel quale ſono ſcritti capitoli & ſtatuti & buone ordinationi, che li antichi ordinarono per li caſi di mercantia & di mare & mercanti & marinari, & patroni di nauilii.

M D XXXIX

II.

LIBRO DEL CONSOLATO

NVOVAMENTE STAMPATO CON LA GIONTA DELLE ORDINATIONI SOPRA LEGNI

Armati, e Sicurta, e Cerca lentrate, & vſcite. Et vi ſi comprendono ſtatuti, e boni ordini. Da gli antichi diſpoſti per ogni Caſo di Mercantia, o di Nauicar, pertinenti a Mercanti, a Patroni de Nauilii, & a Marinari.

Opera molto belliſſima.

In venetia al ſigno della Torre. M D XLIX.

III.

LE PORTVLAN CONTENANT LA DESCRIPTION TANT DES Mers du Ponent deſpuis le deſtroict de Gibeltar iuſques a la Schiuſe en Flandres, que de la Mer Mediterranée, ou du Leuant, faict en vieux langage Italien, & nouuellement traduict en Françoys.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.
Imprimé a Aix en Prouence par Pierre Roux
M·D·LXXVII.

du Conuent des Peres minimes de Paris

IV.

William Barker, Tudor Translator

By George B. Parks

WORKS hitherto ascribed to William Barker in the fifteen-sixties are a translation of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, a collection of *Epitaphia* gathered in Italy, and a translation of *I Caprici del Bottaio* by Giovanbattista Gelli. In addition, Barker left in manuscript an abridged translation and adaptation of *La Gentiltà delle Donne* by Lodovico Domenichi, published in this century for the Roxburghe Club. Versions by him of treatises by St. Basil have also been supposed, though they are not now extant. The dates and attributions of Barker's works need a re-investigation since the last study of them by R. Warwick Bond in 1904 in the introduction to the Roxburghe Club edition. I venture a new look at his bibliography, separating the certain works from the hypothetical.

I. *Works of William Barker*

(1a) STC 26066. *The Bookes of Xenophon Contayning the discipline, schole,* [1553?] *and education of Cyrvs the noble Kyng of Persie. Translated out of Greeke into Englyshe, by M. Wylliam Barkar. Imprinted at London by Reynolde Wolfe.*

(Sigs. Ai-Yviii + 2 leaves: 316 unnumbered pages.)

The translation covers only six out of the eight books.

The STC conjectural date of 1560? is untenable, for the dedication of the second edition (1b) notes that the translation had been done before Barker went into Italy, and that he found it "enprinted whan I did return, not by my desire, but onlye by the curtesie and good will of the Printer, a furtherer of good learning" (A iii^{v}). In the translation of *I Caprici* (4a below) he was

to say that on his return from Italy "[I] put my selfe to attende vpon the Duke of Norfolke that nowe is"—that is, before the Duke succeeded to the title in August 1554. The publication date would be 1553 or so; it could not be much earlier since the work was dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, who was raised to this title in October 1551.

The time when the translation was done should be placed even earlier. R. Warwick Bond inferred (I, 10) that Barker left for Italy in 1551 after writing the dedication to Pembroke. In fact, Barker was in Italy as early as 1549, for Thomas Hoby met and associated with him in Siena in the autumn of that year, and in the following winter traveled with him and others to Rome and Naples (*Camden Miscellany*, X, 26, 1904). Barker may of course have gone home thereafter, and made a second journey to Italy in 1552; but even if he did, as is rather unlikely, he would hardly have done the translation in the interval, now that he had discovered in his Italian journey a special interest in current Italian literature. The translation is most likely to have been done, and left unfinished, in 1549 or earlier; the six books would have been left behind with a dedication to Sir William Herbert, one of the most powerful men of the kingdom; and when the publisher, for whatever reason, published the work, he would naturally change the patron's name to give his new title.

The motive of the translation is noted in the dedication as educational. The dedication is indeed an essay on the value of learning; the earl is complimented for procuring a suitably learned tutor (unnamed, but known to us from other information as Henry Iden) for his sons, thereby attesting his esteem for learning. Barker's own interest and apparent experience in teaching is shown by his remark that translation from Latin to English is "the rediest exercise that euer I cold find to make a child easili tattain to that profit" (A vii^{v}).

Bond inferred from this comment that the translator had

used, along with the Greek original, the Latin version by Filelfo, as well possibly as the Italian of Poggio (published 1521) or of Domenichi (1548).

(1b) STC 26067. *The VIII bookes of Xenophon . . . Translated out of Greeke*
1567 *into Englishe by M. William Bercker. Imprinted Anno Domini MDLXVII.*

(Sigs. Ai-iiij, Aii-Yviii + 1 leaf, Zi-viii, Ai-Fii: 420 unnumbered pages.)

As Bond has noted, the body of the work (from the second Aiii to the unregistered leaf) uses the original sheets of the first edition, only Aii being reset to correct an erratum ("welthes" changed to "cōmon welthes"); the new initial A leaves are needed for the new title-page and dedication.

The dedication "To Philippe, Earle of Surrey, William Bercker" ends "From my chamber at Howarde howse, the viij day of this newe yeare. 1567" (presumably Italian style, and therefore January). It relates the story of the first edition, and adds that the completion of the work had been urged on him by "diuerse of my learned frendes" (Aiii^{v}). The earlier dedication to the Earl of Pembroke and the text of the six books are of course unchanged; for the translation of Book 8, Bond has found evidence of reliance in places on Domenichi's Italian version (Bond, I, 9).

Surrey was the ten-year-old son of the Duke of Norfolk, Barker's employer.

(2a) *Epitaphia et inscriptiones Lugubres . . .* 1554.
1554 This edition has disappeared, being known only by William Herbert's listing of a copy under this date (Ames-Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, IV, 393).

(2b) STC 1427. *Epitaphia et inscriptiones Lugubres. A Gulielmo Bercher,*
1566 *cum in Italia, animi causa, peregrinaretur, collecta. Excusum Londini in aedibus Iohannis Cavvod. .MDLXVI.*

(Sigs. A2-E4 in 4's: 32 pages unnumbered, no introductory material.)

These are epitaphs from Rome (ancient and some modern), Naples (especially of royalty), Padua, Venice, Bologna, Florence, Certaldo, Siena, Alba Longa, Nola, Aversa, Nocera, and Capua. The collection is somewhat more extensive than that which Philip Hoby copied down in various places in his diary (Egerton Ms. 2148, *passim*: omitted from the published version), but the Naples epitaphs, especially the ambitious ones by Pontano, make a like prominent showing in each traveler's collection.

(3) *A Dyssputacōn off the Nobylyte of wymen Betwene dyuers ladis and*
1559 *gentlemē off Ytalye at a place called Petriólo One of the Bayns of Siena the noble Cyttye of Toscane.*

Ms. owned by C. B. Marley, edited by R. Warwick Bond for the Roxburghe Club (2 vols., 1904-1905); the dedication and preface occupy 7 fols. of the Ms., the treatise proper 87 fols., or 64 printed pages.

The translation was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth by "Willm̄ Bercher 1559" as a "poore preasent off Italyon costume whear the ladys and gentle wymen are so enclyned to learnenge and vertue."

The original of the dialogue is Ludovico Domenichi, *La Gentiltà delle Donne*, Venice, 1549, 1551. This book has 277 folios of printed text as against the 64 pages of Barker. The translator rather adapted than translated: changing the scene from Milan to Petriolo, almost completely changing the cast of characters, changing the time of the conversation from 1546 to 1553, drastically condensing the discussion, and replacing the names of noble Italian ladies with an all-English list.

The evidence for the ostensible date of 1553 is enveloped in the verisimilitude which makes the author a participant in the dialogue. It is not Domenichi but Barker who describes his travel in Italy and his discovery of the charms of the various cities; who, singling out Siena, describes his welcome there by "John Borghese" at the baths; and who then records the conversation

carried on over the traditional several days. The tone is one of warm appreciation of Sienese independence of spirit and Sienese courtesy; this tone deepens to the elegiac when the writer notes that the conversation took place before "the creweltye of warr wth the w^{ch} they haue byn afflycted euer syns I was ther." The supposed date is thus limited to the brief sunset year of Sienese independence between the retreat of the Spanish governor and garrison in August 1552, and the invasion by Cosimo I in January 1554 which forecast the conquest of the city in April 1555. Barker does not refer to the period of Spanish rule, though he was there at the time and may, like Hoby, have dined with the Spanish governor; unlike Hoby, he must have returned to Siena to savor the joy of freedom which he describes.

More is thus involved in the dating than the mere fact. Domenichi had set his scene in the ceremony of a stately court wedding in the duchy of Milan; his characters are intelligent and sophisticated, but I do not discover in their lengthy conversation any such emotional tones as sound here in Barker's version as they also sound in Castiglione's *Courtier*, reflecting nostalgic memories of a splendid and vanished court. Like Hoby, Barker should be credited with transferring to England both the sophistication and the faint pathos of the Italian courtesy-book; it would be interesting to know if Hoby and Barker conferred on their translations. Barker was first, of course, since Hoby's *Courtier* was first published in 1561.

A further clue to the date of composition might be looked for in the list at the end of English ladies noted for their learning, a list brought out to overwhelm the Sienese participants in the conversation. It is not, however, possible to say whether the list was made up in 1554 or was composed later to reflect the facts of 1554. It begins with the princesses Mary and Elizabeth and the three daughters of Sir Thomas More; it ends with the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, of whom the eldest, wife of Sir William Cecil, was under thirty. Most of the ladies were in-

deed mere children. The three Howard sisters, whose brother was the young Duke of Norfolk, Barker's employer, were Lady Jane, born in 1540; Lady Catherine, and the youngest, Lady Margaret, who was born in 1547. The daughters of the late Protector Somerset are included, of whom Lady Jane Seymour was born in 1541; also the daughters of a marquis, obviously Dorset (Duke of Suffolk by 1551), one being Lady Jane, clearly Lady Jane Grey—obviously not tactful to name in 1554—who was born in 1537; also the two daughters of the Earl of Arundel, Lady Jane Fitzalan and her sister Lady Mary, the latter born in 1541, who was to marry young Norfolk in 1556 and die in 1557. To call these noble children learned ladies must mean no more than that they were taught the newly fashionable Greek; Barker's knowledge of them and their circle again suggests the acquaintance with tutors and teaching which the Xenophon reveals.

We do not know why the *Nobylyte* was not published—if not before *The Courtier* translation, then certainly afterward in the wake of its popularity. It must be said that by comparison the work is slight.

(4a) STC 11710. *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper: Written*
1568 *in Toscane, by John Baptista Gelli, one of the free Studie of Florence, and for recreation translated into English by W. Barker. Pensoso d' Altrui . . . Imprinted at London by Henry Bynneman, 1568.* 139 fols.

(4b) STC 11711. [Same title, but with change of printer and date:
1599 Thomas Purfoote, 1599. Reprint of 4a. 132 fols.]

A full translation of the ten dialogues in Giovanbattista Gelli, Academico Fiorentino, *I Caprici del Bottaio.* Florence, 1549, *et seq.* Sample passages show that Barker did not make use of the French version of 1566.

These spirited dialogues between Just the Cooper and his soul develop sensible and often penetrating views of life and morals, including praise of Italian literature in the vernacular, especially in the Florentine tongue (dialogue 4), and the expression of

some dangerously anti-clerical opinions (dialogue 6). The combination of liveliness with edification may have inspired Barker's translation, which again reflects his interest in current Italian sophistication.

It may be relevant to note at this point a translation of another work by Gelli which Barker may have brought back to England.

STC 11708. *Circes of Iohn Baptista Gello, Florentyne. Translated out of*
1557 *Italyon, into Englyshe by Henry Iden. Anno Domini, MDLVII.*

(Sigs. Aii to Tiv in 8's: 263 unnumbered pages. The colophon gives John Cawood as printer "to the Kinge and Quenes Maiesties.")

STC 11709. [Second edition, unchanged content though the pages are reset, same date, same printer "to the Quenes Maiestie."] STC gives 1558-9 for this edition, as printed in Elizabeth's reign.[1]

This is a full translation of *La Circe di Giovanbattista Gelli Accademico Fiorentino*, Firenze, 1549 *et seq.* The translation was dedicated to "Lord Herbert of Cardiffe, Mayster Edwarde Herbert, and Mayster Henry Compton, his brethren," the sons of the same Earl of Pembroke to whom Barker had addressed his Xenophon. The eldest son was 23 years old in 1557, and presumably was no longer in tutelage. Moreover, the work was not very obviously educational, if only, for one thing, as the translator wrote in his dedication, that he had taught the youths Italian and they would not need a translation; and, for another, that the ten paradoxical dialogues in which Ulysses' men turned animals justified (except the last one) their animal existence as superior to human life would be rather strong meat for babes.

I have not found Henry Iden in the university registers, and can not therefore further identify him. His prefatory material does not say that he has himself traveled; Barker knew of him, and praised him (though not by name) in the dedication of his Xenophon, and I guess that Barker brought back to him the *Circe*

[1] I am indebted to Professor Edwin B. Knowles for examining these two editions for me.

along with *I Caprici,* each man translating one. This is conjecture only. In any case, Iden's enterprise was parallel to Barker's in making Italian sophistication available in English.

II. *Supposed Works of William Barker*

(S1) The Royal Mss. in the British Museum include (15.A.xvii, art. 1) a Latin version by Gulielmus Barkerus of the *Oratio ad Nicoclem* of Isocrates. The 16 folios of text begin with a dedication to Sir Henry Knyvet, and the editor of the *Catalogue* of the Mss. has assumed that this was the Elizabethan courtier, who was knighted in 1574. Actually the dedication mentions "regis nostri," and must therefore have been written in the reign of Henry VIII or Edward VI; the Sir Henry addressed must then have been the earlier courtier, ambassador to France in 1539, ambassador to the emperor 1540-1542, captain of the cavalry of Guisnes in 1546, who died in the campaign of that year in Flanders (*Letters and Papers, locis variis,* especially XXI, ii, no. 529).

This translation was then done before 1546, and presumably represents Barker's first venture in this kind: it being appropriate that a translation of the classic statement of the kingly art of government should precede a translation of the *Cyropaedia.* It might be wondered that a Latin version of Isocrates should be made for a soldier who had not been to the university, especially when Sir Thomas Elyot had published (1534) the same oration in English; but it was certainly to be assumed that an ambassador must be fluent in Latin.

What is more surprising is that Barker here showed no interest in the education of the young. His preface notes that he had studied civil law for several years, relieving the tedium by reading and translating Greek works. It notes further that he had been obliged to write to Sir Henry "certain unpleasant brief letters, done with some timidity and embarrassment" (literas quasdam iniucundas quidem breves tamen timide et verecūde autē, has dare tibi solebam). We cannot guess the nature or aim of these letters;

at least, however unpleasant, they did not deter Barker from seeking Knyvet's patronage.

There were numerous other William Barkers at the time, as will be explained, but this work seems to fit our William Barker, for the future secretary of the Duke of Norfolk (from 1554 to 1572) might well have studied law and had dealings with a courtier-official after taking his M.A. in 1540. It is true that the schoolmaster William Barker might also have been interested in translating Isocrates from the Greek; but that Barker was appointed Master of Eton in 1547, presumably after some years in the schoolroom rather than in legal study.

It is, however, undeniable that Isocrates was a favorite author of educators who assigned translation exercises to some of the learned ladies (or children) on Barker's list in *The Nobylyte*. Lady Jane Fitzalan did a number of Latin translations for her father (now Ms. Royal 15.A.ix); her sister Mary, who became Duchess of Norfolk, collected *Sententiae* from Greek authors (*ibid.*, 12. A.iii); and Jane's child husband Lord Lumley also did a translation for his father-in-law, though from Erasmus' Latin (*ibid.*, 17.A.xlix). But one Barker was already at Eton, and our Barker was in Italy, when these were done about 1550.

(S2) STC 10532. *Wonderfull newes of the death of Paule the iii last byshop* [1553?] *of Rome, & of diuerse thynges that after his death haue happened, wherein is trulye set out the abhominable actes of his most mischeuous life. Written in Latin by P. Esquillus, and Englyshed by W. B. Londoner.*

(Sigs. A-Civ in 8's: 40 unnumbered pages. Colophon: *Imprinted by Thomas Gaultier.*)

The possible ascription to Barker rests on the initials and on the special opportunity which the traveler had to bring back this sensational work. The original was the *Epistola de morte Pauli III*, dated 11 November 1549 and published in the next month, a work cast in the traditional satiric form of a report by Pasquillo to Marforio on the papal descent into hell and the ensuing abominations of a pageant leading to the pope's eternal punishment.

Ludwig Pastor has called the work "filthy" in his *History of the Popes* (English version, XII, 513).

Thomas Gaultier is otherwise known to have published between 1550 and 1553, and Barker's return from Italy with this book in 1553 is quite conceivable, especially as we know from Hoby that they were both in Rome during the conclave which elected a successor to Paul III. Presumably Gaultier would not have published, at least under his own name, after the accession in July of Queen Mary.

The use of the word "Londoner" is strange, and is not found elsewhere in Barker's books; but he dated the Xenophon of 1567 from Howard House, and in his pardon of 1574 he was called "William Barker late of London, generosus" (Bond, II, 8).

Bond argued Catholic sympathies in Barker from some remarks in *The Nobylyte*; on the other hand, strong anti-clerical statements were expressed in the *Couper* translation. In any case, anti-papal statements like those in this book need not have been a bar to the employment of Barker by the Duke of Norfolk, whose tutor had been John Foxe.

(S3) The *DNB* article on Barker by Thompson Cooper ascribes to him a translation of *St. Basil the Great his Exhortation to his kinsmen to the Study of the Scriptures*. The work is not extant; it was mentioned by Herbert (Ames-Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, IV, 791) as 1557, octavo; before him it was listed by Anthony à Wood (*Fasti Oxonienses*, I, 142) as perhaps translated by William Barker of Magdalen College. This is not our William Barker, who was a Cantabrigian, but a demy of Magdalen 1544-51, B.A. 1554, B.D. 1573 (LeNeve, *Fasti*, I, 178, 202); he is much more likely to have translated this work of piety than our layman, whose interests as we have seen have been purely secular.

I do not discover this work in the writings of St. Basil.

(S4) Herbert lists next to this work another lost book: *An Homelye of Basilius Magnus, Howe younge men ought to reade Poets & Oratours . . . Translated out of Greke. Anno MDLVII.* octavo.

This is the work of Basil (sermon 22 in *Patrologia Graeca* 31; no. 25

in the Froben Latin edition of 1540, 250-257); but as Herbert here says nothing of Barker, we need not assign this to him either.

(S5) STC 713. *An Auncient Historie and exquisite Chronicle of the Romanes*
1578 *warres, both Ciuile and Foren. Written in Greeke by . . Appian of Alexandria . . . London by Raufe Newbery and Henrie Bynniman. Anno 1578.*

(6 pp. unnumbered, sigs. Ai-Aiii, 398 pp., 12 unnumbered pp. for index and errata. A second title-page, *A Continuation . . .*, follows page 354 [*sic* for 368].)

The second part [The Foreign Wars] has a separate title-page. (6 pp. unnumbered, pp. 1-295, 443-445 [*sic*], 9 pp. unnumbered for errata and index.)

The work was entered in the Stationers Register (as *The Civil Wars*, 1 July 1578. For the probable history of publication, beginning as four books and continuing to five, then addding the Foreign Wars, see *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library. English Literature 1475-1700* (New York, 1940), I, 10-13, nos. 8, 9.

Each of the three title-pages is followed by a dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton, signed by the publisher (or his initials): Hatton was knighted on December 1, 1578. (The Pforzheimer Catalogue is in error in saying that the second dedication of its second copy, item 9, is signed W.B.; it is also H.B. like all the others.)[2]

In all copies the third title-page carries the line "Translated into English by W. B." It is now pointed out by Mr. Ernest Schanzer, in his introduction to a reprint of parts of the translation (*Shakespeare's Appian*, English Reprints, 13, p. xii: University of Liverpool Press, 1956), that one copy has had inserted in the first title-page the printed words: "Translated out of diuers Languages, and now set forth in Englishe, according to the Greeke text, taken out of a Royal Librarie: by W. B." This one copy is listed by the Folger Library as STC 713.35 (it is the Heber-Britwell Court-Harmsworth copy); the other three Folger

[2] I owe this verification to the Librarian, Dr. Eleanor L. Nicholes.

copies (STC 713, 713.2, 713.3) have no such insertion. The genuineness of the insertion is reasonable: that is, the translator of the second part (The Foreign Wars) is quite likely to have been the same as the translator of the first (The Civil Wars). Mr. Schanzer identifies W.B., translator of the whole work, as William Barker: and suggests that his name was left off the title-pages generally because of his implication in the recent conspiracy of the Duke of Norfolk, his employer, executed in 1572. That is, despite the pardon of the secretary in 1574, the publisher might well not wish to attach his name to the work (Schanzer, xv, xvi). The identification is strengthened by the like translations done by Barker with the Latin, Italian, and in this case French versions made use of along with the original Greek; and by the familiarity shown in marginal notes with Italy, thus suggesting a traveler. The ascription seems reasonable, and the more so because of the special familiarity shown in the notes with the Naples region.

Mr. Schanzer discovers that the versions of Appian used were the Greek edition of Stephanus (1551) "out of a Royal Librarie," the new Latin version of Sigismund Geslen (Basel 1554), as well as the 1452 Latin version of Pier Candido and its popular Italian translation by Alessandro Braccio (1545 *et seq.*), together with a French version of a part of The Continuation.

In sum, I ascribe to our William Barker:

(S1) By 1546, a Latin version of Isocrates, *Oratio ad Nicoclem.* Unpublished.

(1) By 1549, translation of six books of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, published 1553?; translation completed (eight books) and published 1567.

(S2) [1553?] *Wonderfull newes of the death of Paule the iii*, translated from the original of 1549. By W. B. Londoner.

(2) 1554. *Epitaphia et inscriptiones Lugubres* [not extant]. 2d ed., 1566. 1557. Henry Iden's version of the *Circes* of Gelli (1549), perhaps inspired by Barker; 2d ed., 1558-1559?.

(3) 1559. *The Nobylyte of wymen*, adaptation from Ludovico Domenichi, *La Gentiltà delle Donne* (1549). Unpublished until 1904.

(4) 1568. *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper,* from Gelli, *I Caprici del Bottaio* (1549); 2d ed., 1599.

(S5) 1578. *Historie . . of the Romanes warres,* from Appian of Alexandria. By W. B.

III. *The Biography*

We may now fill in some gaps in the biography of William Barker, following Thomson Cooper in *DNB* (1885) and R. W. Bond in the Roxburghe Club edition of *The Nobylyte* (1904-1905). (An asterisk marks additions to these accounts.) That Barker was sent to St Johns College, Cambridge, by Queen Anne Boleyn is attested both by his preface to *The Nobylyte* and by one of the documents of his examination in the Norfolk inquiry (*Murdin State Papers,* 94). He would have entered in 1533 or 1534, and perhaps taken his B.A. in 1536-7; *he was Fellow in 1539, M.A. in 1540 (J. & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses,* I, 88). According to the *Isocrates translation, he *studied civil law, and *sought the patronage of Sir Henry Knyvet before 1546. *In 1549 he went to Italy, where he presumably remained until 1553, being counted by Thomas Hoby among the gentleman students at Siena in 1549-50. Bond thought that he was the William Barker who was "sworn to" the new Queen Mary in July, 1553; but this might have been another, as certainly were the two William Barkers who took the same oath in 1559 (*Calendar Patent Rolls Elizabeth,* I, 200, 212).

In any case, returned from Italy in 1553 or 1554, Barker took service with the young Duke of Norfolk, and remained in it until the latter's execution in 1572, Barker's reluctant testimony assuring the duke's conviction (*Murdin State Papers,* 87-129). He was M.P. for Great Yarmouth in 1557-58, 1558-59, and 1571, and for Bramber in Sussex in 1562-63: all of which were Norfolk's pocket boroughs; it may have been he who acquired a coat of arms in January 1560-1 (Harley Ms. 1359, fol. 48). Barker was indicted for treason in January 1571-2,

pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to death; he was confined in the Tower until his pardon in May, 1574, two years after the duke's execution (Bond, II, 8-10).

Thereafter we cannot be sure if any of the numerous William Barker documentary records relate to our translator. Those which Bond discovered under dates in the 1590's are probably too late for a man who would then be over seventy; other records relate to a cleric, which Barker clearly was not. I find no likely item after 1578.

As for the translator's literary career, it began with a currently fashionable interest in the literature of statesmanship: by *Isocrates and Xenophon. The sojourn in Italy diverted Barker to more sophisticated matter: *anti-papal satire, perhaps, the collection of epitaphs ancient and modern, but, most important, the cultivated dialogues of Domenichi and Gelli (one of which he may have passed on to Henry Iden). *He returned to the classics after his employer's downfall, still interested in the wars and statesmanship of the Romans.

Some of the cognate William Barkers have been distinguished by the editors of the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (I, 88, 1922).

1 of Gonville. M.A. 1538, scholar and in 1557 fellow of the refounded Gonville and Caius College.

2 of Clare. M.A. 1538, fellow, prebendary of Hereford, rector 1558-9 of Langdon Hills, Essex: named on the Pardon Roll, 15 January 1559 (*Calendar Patent Rolls Elizabeth*, I, 212).

3 of Queens. M.A. 1540.

4 of Christ's. M.A. 1540, fellow 1537-47. Died c. 1547-8.

We add two Oxonians:

5 College unknown, presumed an Oxonian: M.A., master of Eton College 1547-55 (H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, 4th ed., 1911, pp. 125, 599); master of the Berkhamsted School 1555-70 (*Calendar Patent Rolls Philip and Mary*, II, 223; *Index of Wills P.C.C.*, anno 1570). He may have been the translator of the Isocrates oration.

6 of Magdalen, demy 1544-51, B.A. 1554, B.D. 1573 (*Alumni Oxonienses*, I, 72). He was confused with the preceding by Maxwell Lyte,

though he was obviously too young for the Eton appointment. He may have been translator of the two treatises ascribed to St. Basil (1557); probably he was the recipient of the two livings listed by Bond, one in 1575 (II, 41).

Two other William Barkers are interesting, though irrelevant here.

7 Gentleman, of Stratford-on-Avon, owner 1550 and 1553 of property belonging to the late college and to the Guild of Holy Trinity (*Calendar Patent Rolls Edward VI*, III, 374, V, 280).

8 Citizen and merchant tailor of London, merchant of the Staple, listed on the Pardon Roll of 15 January 1559 (*Calendar Patent Rolls Philip and Mary*, IV, 301; *Elizabeth*, I, 25, 200, 412); died 1588 (*Parish Registers of St Mary Aldermary*, vol. 5, p. 144, *Harleian Society Publications*).

How long our William Barker lived after his pardon in 1574 we do not know, or even if he was still living when the Appian was published in 1578. He was probably about fifty when the storm broke over him for which he was sentenced to death with the duke; even if he was only an innocent tool of the conspirators, he could hardly have expected to escape his sentence. In any case, he was imprisoned from September, 1571, to May, 1574. We may hope that the work on Appian was a comfort and an escape in his time of troubles.

The evidence of Barker's examination suggests that he did not need to blame himself for the conviction of the duke, for whom he did his best. He may even have shrugged off the duke's abuse of him in the nobleman's frantic attempt to deny everything and to call his secretary "ane Italianfyd Inglyschemane," whose face and that of his co-witness "will be to brasen to yealde to enye Truthe that I schall charge them with" (*Murdin State Papers*, 170). "Italianified" had taken on a new and sinister meaning under Elizabeth which it had not had in Barker's student days in the Siena which he glorified.

Bibliographical Notes

A Publishing History of the Writings of Eugene Lee-Hamilton

Except for one brief burst of posthumous fame, the poetry of Eugene Lee-Hamilton (1845-1907), older half-brother of Violet Paget ("Vernon Lee") was never widely known. It is now almost forgotten. Yet his best poetry will stand comparison with the finest, and his life and career offer a series of insights into the nature of the creative process and into the maelstrom-world sweetly characterized as "late-Victorian."

Lee-Hamilton is a poet who was made, not born. The remarkable fact about the first thirty years of his life is that he was not remarkable. He was an ordinary Oxonian, beginning an ordinary career in the diplomatic corps. But at the age of twenty-nine he collapsed, apparently a hopeless paralytic. His collapse as a man was the beginning of his career as a poet. The paralysis continued for twenty years, the result of a textbook version of the Oedipus complex.

Unable to read or write, he began to frame lines of poetry in his mind, at first as a way of keeping his mind off his illness. His first book, *Poems and Transcripts* (1878), perhaps as unpromising a first book as any poet has ever brought out, was a collection of conventional verse, the product of the ordinary Oxonian. But by the appearance of his third book, *The New Medusa*, in 1882, he had emerged as a poet with a voice of his own, a voice that did not harmonize with his prose voice or personality.

As a prose man, he was a prudish late-Victorian gentleman, distinguishable from hundreds of others mainly by the fact that he was an atheist. In matters of civil polity, economics, and especially of sexual propriety, he held to the most repressive versions of conservatism. But as a poet, he dealt with themes that shocked and outraged his critics, and startled his friends. One of the most illuminating aspects of his career is that involved in following out the almost complete break between the prose man and the poet. In his poetry, he went far beneath the surface of the life his prose personality upheld. Nor could he himself control or understand the nature of his poetic gift. Poetry gave substance and objectivity to unconscious

motivations; it permitted him to impose the order of rhyme and meter on the nightmare world he found within himself.

He could not control his imagination, but he could refine it. His career shows a slow but steady movement toward an exactness of form and intensity of conception which eventually brought him, after experiments in many forms, to the sonnet, a form in which over two-thirds of his 350-odd poems are written. Few poets have used the sonnet for so many different purposes. His first published sonnets, in *The New Medusa*, were philosophic. In *Apollo and Marsyas* (1884), he began to use the sonnet to describe paintings and sculpture. In *Imaginary Sonnets* (1888), he essayed to make the sonnet do the work of the dramatic lyric, in a series of soliloquies devoted to critical moments in the lives of historical and mythical figures. His seventh and last book, composed and published while he was paralyzed, *Sonnets of the Wingless Hours* (1894), was hailed by many as a book of unusual range and quality in an age which had seen a tremendous increase in the writing of sonnets.

The split within himself, which he had earlier expounded under the title of "Apollo and Marsyas," is everywhere evident in his poems, particularly in the series of sonnets addressed to writers like FitzGerald, Rossetti, Leopardi, and Baudelaire. He detested Swinburne, whose work he considered indecent, yet his own work has a marked Swinburnian flavor, especially in his early poems and in his play, *The Fountain of Youth* (1891).

During his years of paralysis, he had steadfastly refused to acknowledge that his illness was anything but physical. His recovery, however, following the death of his hated step-father and preceding that of his adored mother, was effected by "auto-suggestion." Pain had made him a poet; his health recovered, his career as a poet seemed ended.

In 1898, he married the Scottish novelist Annie Holdsworth. The last ten years of his life brought forth two books of poetry, two novels, and a translation of the *Inferno*, but each of them showed what seemed to be an unmistakable decline in power.

In 1902, his only child, a daughter, was born. In 1904, she died. During the last three years of his life, he worked slowly at a series of sonnets to her memory. For almost the only time in his career, the man and the poet were not opposed to each other. *Mimma Bella* (1909), is his last and finest book. The virtues of his earlier sonnets and poems came together: a vivid pictorial sense; powerful conceptions combined with plain, clean speech; a fluid command of the Petrarchan form. He did not live to see the book published. It appeared again and again in magazine and book

form in the years immediately following his death in September, 1907.

The main themes of his poetry are the horror allied to beauty in nature, and the mystery of identity. He wrote very little amatory verse, but his steady subject was the oblique and hidden side of life. In spite of this interest, his poetry is marked by lucidity and clarity. His attempt to follow, so to speak, both Pater and the Queen bewildered him as well as his commentators. His best poetry occurs when Apollo and Marsyas complement rather than compete with one another.

Until very recently no dependable scholarly work has been done on Lee-Hamilton.[1] Most of the standard literary histories ignore him or repeat each other; or they are inaccurate or cursory, or both. The handful of poems printed in Victorian anthologies gives only a limited sense of his capabilities, and none at all of his range. *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature,* again, fails to list all of his books. The result of this lack of accurate work may be seen in one sentence of the latest article devoted to Lee-Hamilton's poetry, published in 1946: "Even in college, Lee-Hamilton was a marked man, for when he graduated along with Cecil Rhodes in 1869, he was assured a place in the Foreign Office. He soon became a troubleshooter, and it was freely predicted that in time Lee-Hamilton would reach cabinet rank."[2] On this statement, the following observations may be made: in college, he was lonely, not marked; he did not graduate from Oxford; there is no evidence that he knew Cecil Rhodes; he had secured a place in the Foreign Office before he dared refuse to take his final examinations; he was not a troubleshooter; no one, himself included, made any such predictions.

The place to begin, thus, is at the beginning; and I have tried to compile here a complete publishing history of each piece of Lee-Hamilton's work.

I

Below, I have tried to trace the publishing history of Lee-Hamilton's works from their first appearance in print to their latest. I have been as much concerned to show the extent of republication as to indicate any line of development based on dates of publication. Therefore, I have used the following method: I have given first the description and the year of

[1] See Burdett Gardner, "Violet Paget: An Essay in Biographical Criticism" (unpublished dissertation, Harvard, 1954); and Harvey T. Lyon, "The Deep Reverberation of a Bell: The Life and Poetry of Eugene Lee-Hamilton" (unpublished dissertation, Harvard, 1955).

[2] Robert K. Rosenburg, "Full Many a Flower," *Poet Lore,* LII (1946), 164.

publication of his books of poetry (and his prose writings). Then, following the book, I have given the complete publishing history of all the poems which first appeared in that book, including prior magazine publication, subsequent appearances in his own books, and subsequent appearances elsewhere. Poems not so described from any given volume are those which appeared only in that volume and nowhere else. For Lee-Hamilton's books, I have used the following abbreviations:

GSM	*Gods, Saints, and Men*
NM	*The New Medusa, and Other Poems*
AM	*Apollo and Marsyas, and Other Poems*
IS	*Imaginary Sonnets*
FY	*The Fountain of Youth*
SWH	*Sonnets of the Wingless Hours*
FN	*Forest Notes*
DS	*Dramatic Sonnets, Poems, and Ballads*

For collections of poetry, I have followed the abbreviations of *Granger's Index to Poetry* (New York, 1953). To facilitate reference, I have alphabetized according to title:

BMEP Markham, E., ed. *Book of Modern English Poetry*. New York, 1934.

DaB Fowler, Ethel, ed. *The Daffodil Poetry Book*. New York, 1920 (1949).

ES Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, ed. *English Sonnets*. New York, 1936.

EtS Williamson, W. M., ed. *The Eternal Sea*. New York, 1946.

HBMV Stevenson, Burton E., ed. *Home Book of Modern Verse*. New York, 1925.

HBV Stevenson, Burton E., ed. *Home Book of Verse*. 2 vols. 8th ed. New York, 1949.

LEAP Le Gallienne, Richard, ed. *Le Gallienne's Book of English and American Poetry*. New York, 1922.

OBVV Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, ed. *Oxford Book of Victorian Verse*. New York, 1912.

PTER Alden, Raymond, ed. *Poems of the English Race*. New York, 1921.

TPH Hall, Howard J., ed. *Types of Poetry*. New York, 1927.

VA Stedman, Edmund Clarence, ed. *Victorian Anthology*. Boston, 1895.

WGRP Hill, Caroline, ed. *World's Great Religious Poetry*. New York, 1934.

WRR-2 Werner, Edgar, ed. *Werner's Readings and Recitations, No. 2*. New York, n.d.

For collections of poetry not found in *Granger* I have used standard-form references. I have cited poems whether reprinted in full or in part.

Lee-Hamilton, Eugene. "Letters of Eugene Lee-Hamilton, with some Early Letters of Vernon Lee," [some letters of Eugene Lee-Hamilton, 1872-1873, separately appended and paginated] ed. with an introduction by Irene Cooper Willis. Unpubl. typescript, n.d. [1937].

——— "The Countess de B—. A Problem," [unpubl. story, set in galleys of *Blackwood's Magazine* for December, 1874].

——— "Contemporary Italian Poets," *Quarterly Review*, CXLIV (October, 1877), 446-484.

——— *Poems and Transcripts*. Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1878.

None of the poems in this volume had been previously printed; none was reprinted. Parts of some of the translations had been used in the above article.

——— *Gods, Saints, and Men*. London, William Satchell, 1880.

"The Fiddle and the Slipper."

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"The New Medusa"

Magazine of Poetry, 180.

"On a Tuscan Road"
DS.

"The Mandolin"
DS.

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Miles, Alfred H., ed. *The Poets and Poetry of the Century.* 10 vols. London, 1892, Vol. VIII. Hereafter cited as Miles, *Poets.*

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SWH; *DS* "I" only; *Magazine of Poetry*, 177; Miles, *Poets*; *Dial*, XVI, Chicago (June 1, 1894), 340.

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SWH.

"Waifs of Time"
SWH; *Bibelot*, VIII (1902); *Living Age*, CCLXIV (January 8, 1910), 66; Andrews, C. E., and M. O. Percival, eds. *Poetry of the Nineties.* New York, 1926 (hereafter cited as Andrews and Percival, *Poetry*).

"Winter"
SWH.

"Life's Game"
SWH.

"In Memoriam"
SWH.

"Sea-Shell Murmurs"
SWH; *DS*; Ward, Anna P., ed. *Surf and Wave: The Sea as Sung by the Poets.* New York, 1883. Sharp, Elizabeth, ed. *Songs and Poems of the Sea.* London, 1885 (hereafter cited as E. Sharp, *Songs and Poems*); Sharp, William, ed. *Sonnets of this Century.* New York and London, 1886 (hereafter cited as Sharp, *Sonnets*); *Magazine of Poetry*, 177; Miles, *Poets*; *Dial*, XVI (June 1, 1894), 340; *Bibelot*, VIII (1902); Lockwood, Laura, ed. *Sonnets: Selected from English and American Authors.* Boston, 1916 (hereafter cited as Lockwood, *Sonnets*); Andrews and Percival, *Poetry*; Stevenson, Burton, ed. *Home Book of Quotations.* 5th ed. New York, 1947 (hereafter cited as Stevenson, *Quotations*); Morley, Christopher, and Louella Ev-

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Magazine of Poetry, 179.

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DS, as "Sister Mary van der Deck"; *Magazine of Poetry*, 179.

"The Bride of Porphyrion"
DS; *Magazine of Poetry*, 179-180.

"Hunting the King"
DS.

"An Ode of the Tuscan Shore"
DS.

"A Pageant of Sienna"
DS.

"The Wonder of the World"
Magazine of Poetry, 180.

"Ipsissimus"
DS; *Magazine of Poetry*, 177; Miles, *Poets*; *BMEP*; *TPH*; *WRR-2*.

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Academy, XXVII (May 19, 1883), 347; *SWH*; *DS*; Sharp, *Sonnets*; *Magazine of Poetry*, 177; Davidson, Donald, ed. *British Poetry of the Eighteen-Nineties*. New York, 1937 (hereafter cited as Davidson, *British Poetry*).

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SWH.

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SWH.

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SWH, as "On Two of Signorelli's Frescoes: The Rising of the Dead."

"On Signorelli's Fresco of the Binding of the Lost"
SWH, as "On Two of Signorelli's Frescoes: The Binding of the Lost."

"Musset's Louis D'Or"
SWH; *Bibelot,* VIII (1902).

"The Phantom Ship"
SWH; E. Sharp, *Songs and Poems*; Sharp, *Sonnets*; *Magazine of Poetry,* 178.

"Spring"
SWH; *DS.*

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SWH, as "Oxford"; Davidson, *British Poetry,* as "Oxford."

"By the Fire"
SWH.

"Night"
SWH.

"River Babble"
SWH and *DS,* as "River Babble: I."

"Sunken Gold"
Academy, XXIV (February 2, 1884), 79; *SWH*; *DS*; E. Sharp, *Songs and Poems;* Sharp, *Sonnets; Magazine of Poetry,* 178; Miles, *Poets; Bibelot,* VIII (1902); *Living Age,* CCLXIII (December 18,1909), 705; Lockwood, *Sonnets*; Andrews and Percival, *Poetry*; *EtS*; *TPH*; *VA.*

"On Raphael's Archangel Michael"
Art Journal (1883), 316; *SWH*; *Living Age,* CCLXIII (December 11, 1909), 692.

"On A Surf-Rolled Torso of Venus"
Art Journal (1883), 351; *SWH.*

"On Mantegna's Sepia Drawing of Judith: I and II"
SWH, as "On Mantegna's Drawing of Judith: I and II."

"Strangled"
Academy, XXIV (March 15, 1884), 185; *SWH*, as "A Spanish Legend"; *Magazine of Poetry*, 178.

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SWH; Davidson, *British Poetry*.

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"Henry I to the Sea (A. D. 1120)"
DS.

"Queen Eleanor to Rosamund Clifford (A. D. 1160)"
Magazine of Poetry, 179.

"Venus to Tannhäuser (A. D. 1160)"
DS.

"Farinata Degli Uberti to Conquered Florence (A. D. 1260)"
DS.

"Pia Dei Tolomei to Love and Death (A. D. 1295)"
Miles, *Poets*.

"Carmagnola to the Republic of Venice (A. D. 1452)"
DS.

"Leonardo da Vinci to His Snakes (A. D. 1480)"
DS; *Magazine of Poetry*, 178.

"Louis de Ligny to Leonora Altamura (A. D. 1495)"
Miles, *Poets*.

"The King of Cyprus to His Queen (A. D. 1399)"
Magazine of Poetry, 179.

"Lorenzo de Medici to his Last Autumn (A. D. 1491)"
DS.

"Luca Signorelli to his Son (A. D. 1500)"
DS; Miles, *Poets*.

"Vasco da Gama to the Spirit of Tempests (A. D. 1504)"
DS.

"Balboa to the Pacific (A. D. 1513)"
DS.

"Ponce de Leon to the Fountain of Youth (A. D. 1520): I and II"
DS.

"Doctor Faustus to Helen of Troy (A. D. 1520): I and II"
DS.

"Cardinal Wolsey to His Hound (A. D. 1530)"
DS.

"Michael Angelo to his Statue of Day (A. D. 1535)"
DS.

"Lady Jane Grey to the Flowers and Birds (A. D. 1553)"
DS; *Magazine of Poetry*, 178-179.

"Catherine Talbot to her Child (A. D. 1510)"
DS, same title, date changed to "A. D. 1560."

"Chastelard to Mary Stuart (A. D. 1563)"
DS.

"The Wandering Jew to Distant Rome (A. D. 1598): I, II, III"
DS, same title, date changed to "A. D. 1600."

"Sir Walter Raleigh to a Caged Linnet (A. D. 1608)"
VA.

"Domingo Lopez to his Saviour (A. D. 1610)"
Magazine of Poetry, 179.

"Arabella Stuart to the Unseen Spring (A. D. 1612)"
DS.

"Galileo to the Earth (A. D. 1638)"
DS.

"Lycidas to Milton (A. D. 1637)"
Moulton, Charles W., ed. *The Library of Literary Criticism.* 4 vols. Buffalo, N. Y., 1901-1905. Vol. II.

"Isaac Walton to River and Brook (A. D. 1650)"
VA.

"Bijou the Dwarf to the Electress Mary (A. D. 1690)"
Magazine of Poetry, 179.

"Charles II. of Spain to Approaching Death (A. D. 1700)"
VA.

"Alexander Selkirk to his Shadow (A. D. 1708): I and II"
DS.

"Stradivarius to an Unfinished Violin (A. D. 1710)"
DS.

"Latude to His Rats (A. D. 1750): I"
DS, as "Latude to His Bastille Rats."

"Cazotte to a Supper-Party (A. D. 1788)"
DS.

"Kosciusko to the Corpse of Poland (A. D. 1796)"
DS.

"The Last Doge to Fettered Venice (A. D. 1799)"
DS; Miles, *Poets.*

——— *The Fountain of Youth: A Fantastic Tragedy.* London, Elliot Stock, 1891.

The following songs from the play were reprinted in *DS.* There was no further publication of any part of the play:

"Chorus of the Spirits of Youth (The Rejuvenation of Aeson)"; "Chorus of the Spirits of Age"; "Song of the Water-Witches"; "Song of the Arrow-Poisoners"; "Chorus of Dawn Spirits."

——— *Sonnets of the Wingless Hours.* London, Elliot Stock, 1894.

——— *Sonnets of the Wingless Hours.* Chicago and Cambridge, Mass., Stone and Kimball, 1894.

——— *Sonnets of the Wingless Hours.* Portland, Maine, Thomas B. Mosher, 1902.

"Fairy Godmothers"
DS; *OBVV.*

"In Dreams"
Academy, XXXIV (December 29, 1888), 419; *DS.*

"Twilight"
DS; *Living Age,* CCXXXVIII (August 8, 1903), 385.

"To Health"
Living Age, XXLXV (April 2, 1910), 2.

"A Snail's Derby"
DS; Davidson, *British Poetry*.

"River Babble: II"
DS.

"To Others"
Living Age, CCLXIV (January 29, 1910), 258.

"King Christmas"
DS.

"An Elfin Skate: I, II, III"
Academy, XLII (December 3, 1892), 508; *DS*, prints only first two; *OBVV*; *PTER*.

"To My Wheeled Bed"
Academy, XXXIV (April 11, 1891), 345, as "To My Wheeled Couch."

"At Rest"
Spectator, LXXVI (January 25, 1896), 117.

"Eagles of Tiberius"
DS; Davidson, *British Poetry*.

"To My Tortoise Chronos"
VA; Davidson, *British Poetry*.

"The Sun-Dial: I and II"
DS.

"The Ever-Young, I, II, III"
DS.

"To the So-Called Venus of Milo: I and II"
DS, prints "I" only; *Bibelot*, VIII (1902); *Living Age*, CCLXIII (December 4, 1909), 578.

"Fading Glories: II"
DS, as "On Some Fourteenth-Century Saints."

"The Ring of Faustus"
DS; *Critic*, XXII (August 18, 1894), 105; *Bibelot*, VIII (1902); *Living Age*, CCLXIV (January 15, 1910), 130.

"The Wreck-Rock Bell"
DS.

"The Silent Fellow"
DS.

"Nero's Sand"
Living Age, CCLXIV (February 19, 1910), 450.

"The Ransom of Peru"
DS.

"Waifs of a World"
Academy, XXX (August 21, 1886), 120; *Bibelot,* VIII (1902); Andrews and Percival, *Poetry.*

"My Own Hereafter"
WERP.

"A Flight from Glory"
DS; *Nation,* LIX (November 22, 1894), 389; *Bookman,* II (January, 1896), 439; Davidson, *British Poetry*; *BMEP*; *VA.*

"All Souls' Day: I and II"
DS.

"The Wreck of Heaven: I and II"
Academy, XLI (June 18, 1892), 590; *DS*; *Living Age,* CXCV (October 1, 1892), 2.

"What the Sonnet Is"
Academy, XXXVI (August 10, 1889), 86; *DS*; Warner, Charles Dudley, ed. *Library of the World's Best Literature.* 30 vols. New York, 1897, XXVIII, 16774; *Bibelot,* VIII (1902); Andrews and Percival, *Poetry;* Woods, George Benjamin, ed. *Poetry of the Victorian Period.* Chicago, 1930 (hereafter cited as Woods, *Poetry*); *Bartlett's*; *OBVV*; *VA; TPH.*

"Sonnet Gold: I and II"
Dial, XV (December 16, 1893), 381; *DS*; *Bibelot,* VIII (1902); Andrews and Percival, *Poetry*; Woods, *Poetry.*

"Oberon's Last Council: I and II"
Academy, XXXVIII (November 8, 1890), 86; *DS,* prints "II" only.

"Roman Baths"
Bibelot, VIII (1902); Andrews and Percival, *Poetry*; Untermeyer, Louis, ed. *Modern British Poetry: A Critical Anthology* (New York,

1930); Fuller, Edmund, ed. *Thesaurus of Quotations* (New York, 1941); Stevenson, *Quotations*; *Bartlett's*.

"Baudelaire"
DS; *Dial*, XVI (June 1, 1894), 340; *Bibelot*, VIII (1902); *Living Age*, CCXXXIX (October 17, 1903), 192; *Living Age*, CCLXIV (January 22, 1910), 194; Davidson, *British Poetry*; *BMEP*; *LEAP*.

"The Death of Puck: I and II"
Academy, XXXVII (May 3, 1890), 303; *Living Age*, CLXXXV (June 28, 1890), 770; Woods, *Poetry*; *DaB*; *HBMV*; *OBVV*; *PTER*; Macphail, Sir Andrew, ed. *The Book of Sorrow* (New York, 1916), prints "II" only (hereafter cited as Macphail, *Sorrow*).

"On the Fly-Leaf of Dante's 'Vita Nuova' "
Bibelot, VIII (1902).

"Fumes of Charcoal: I and II"
Bibelot, VIII (1902).

"On the Fly-Leaf of Leopardi's Poems"
DS; *Bibelot*, VIII (1902).

"The Grave of Omar Kháyyám"
DS; *Bibelot*, VIII (1902).

"To my Tortoise Ananké"
DS; *OBVV*.

"Epilogue to These Sonnets"
DS; *Bibelot*, VIII (1902); Andrews and Percival, *Poetry*; Woods, *Poetry*; *VA*.

——— *The Inferno of Dante, Translated with Plain Notes*. London, Grant Richards, 1898.

——— and Annie Lee-Hamilton. *Forest Notes*. London, Grant Richards, 1899.

From Lee-Hamilton's contributions to this book, the following were reprinted in *DS*; two, as noted below, were also reprinted elsewhere:
"To the Forest"; "Song"
OBVV.

"Durability"; "Wood Honey"; "Noon's Dream-Song"; "Little

Love-Song"; "The Forest's Soul"; "Unknown Songsters"; "Wood Song"

OBVV.

"The Passing Wing"; "Old Forest Charms"; "The Charge of the Winged Steeds"

——— "The Doubts of Lord Cheshire. A Study in Identity," *Pall Mall Magazine*, XXVIII (September, 1902), 88-91.

——— *The Lord of the Dark Red Star: Being the Story of the Supernatural Influences in the Life of an Italian Despot of the Thirteenth Century.* London and Newcastle-on-Tyne, Walter Scott, 1903.

——— *The Lord of the Dark Red Star: Being the Story of the Supernatural Influences in the Life of an Italian Despot of the Thirteenth Century.* New York and Melbourne, Walter Scott, 1903.

[Paperbound, one-shilling overseas edition.]

——— *Dramatic Sonnets, Poems, and Ballads: Selections from the Poems of Eugene Lee-Hamilton. With an Introduction by William Sharp.* London and Newcastle-On-Tyne, Walter Scott, 1903. ("Canterbury Poets.")

——— *The Romance of the Fountain.* London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1905.

——— *The Romance of the Fountain.* London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1905. "Colonial Edition. (for Circulation in the British Colonies and India Only.)"

II

LATER UNPUBLISHED AND POSTHUMOUS WORKS

——— "The Purgatorio of Dante." (Completed, but unpubl.)

——— "Ezzelin: A Tragedy." (Completed, but unpubl. and lost.)

——— "Mimma Bella: In Memory of a Little Life," *Fortnightly Review*, LXXXVIII (November, 1907), 850-858. (Partial printing; see below.)

——— "Mimma Bella: In Memory of a Little Life," *Living Age*, CCLV (December, 1907), 616-623. (Partial printing.)

——— "Mimma Bella: In Memory of a Little Life," *Current Literature*, XLV (July, 1908), 104-105. (Excerpt from partial printing.)

——— "Mimma Bella: In Memory of a Little Life," *Bibelot*, XIV (1908), 197-216. (Partial printing.)

——— *Mimma Bella: In Memory of a Little Life.* Portland, Maine, Thomas B. Mosher, 1909. (Partial printing.)

"Fifty Copies of this Book have been printed on Japan Vellum for Thomas B. Mosher, and published by him at Portland, Maine in the month of August MDCCCCIX."

——— *Mimma Bella: In Memory of a Little Life.* Portland, Maine, Thomas B. Mosher, 1909. (Partial printing.)

"Nine hundred copies of this book have been printed on Van Gelder hand-made paper for Thomas B. Mosher and published by him at Portland, Maine in the month of August MDCCCCIX."

——— *Mimma Bella.* Introduction by Annie Lee-Hamilton. London, William Heinemann, 1909. (Complete text.)

——— *Mimma Bella.* Introduction by Annie Lee-Hamilton. New York, Duffield, 1909. (Complete text.)

In the following listing of the contents of this complete edition, I have indicated the sonnets that made up the partial printings by an asterisk, and added the number of each at the end in brackets.

"The Weaving of the Sonnets"

Part I Mimma Bella. In Memory of a Little Life:

*I. "Have dark Egyptians stolen thee away" [I]
HBV.

*II. "Two springs she saw—two radiant Tuscan springs" [II]
HBV.

III. " 'Tis March; and on the hills that stretch away"

*IV. "If we could know the silent shapes that pass" [III]

*V. "O, rosy as the lining of a shell" [IV]
HBV.

*VI. "What wast thou, little baby, that art dead" [V]
Macphail, *Sorrow.*

VII. "We found a baby tortoise, whose green shell"

VIII. "Where Mimma lies, some nameless children sleep"
IX. "Keep not the sunshine from our Mimma's grave"
*X. " 'Tis Christmas, and we gaze with downbent head" [X]
*XI. "O bless the law that veils the Future's face" [VI]
Stevenson, *Quotations.*
HBV.
*XII. "Mantled in purple dusk, Imperial Death" [VII]
*XIII. "One day, I mind me, now that she is dead" [VIII]
HBV.
*XIV. "O brook that fell too soon into the sea" [IX]
*XV. "How patiently they did their work of old" [XI]
*XVI. "It is the season when the elves of Spring" [XII]
*XVII. "Now Florence fills her lap with buds of May" [XIII]
*XVIII. "O pale pressed Rose-bud in the Book of Death" [XIV]
XIX. "We search the darkness from the villa's height"
*XX. "Do you remember how, with Fancy's hand" [XV]
XXI. "I pass the Innocenti in the square"
XXII. "Of old the shuddering mother rang a bell"
*XXIII. "Do you recall the scents, the insect whirr" [XVII]
XXIV. "We walk by Shelley's sea, upon the sands"
*XXV. "O little ship that passed us in the night" [XVI]
*XXVI. "Lo, through the open window of the room" [XVIII]
Macphail, *Sorrow.*
PTER.
XXVII. "Once, breaking open an Etruscan tomb"
*XXVIII. "What alchemy is thine, O little Child" [XIX]
*XXIX. "What essences from Idumean palm" [XX]
HBV.

Part II Last Sonnets:
I. "The Black Caravan"
II. "Purple Shadows"

——— "Mimma Bella," in *The Book of Sonnet Sequences*, ed. Houston Peterson. London and New York, Longmans, Green, 1929, 345-456.

III

REVIEWS OF LEE-HAMILTON'S WORKS

Poems and Transcripts:
Academy, V (June 28, 1879), 562; *Athenaeum* (August 17, 1878),

201; *Book Buyer*, I, New York (September, 1878), 15; *British Quarterly*, LXVIII (October, 1878), 552; *John Bull*, LVIII (August 3, 1878), 494; *The Graphic*, XVII (June 29, 1878), 646; *Pall Mall Gazette*, XXVIII (July 17, 1878), 12; *Spectator*, LI (September 7, 1878), 1132; *Westminster Review*, LIV (October, 1878), 252.

Gods, Saints, and Men:

Academy, XVIII (December 4, 1880), 401; *Westminster Review*, LIX (January, 1881), 330-331.

The New Medusa, and Other Poems:

Athenaeum (December 16, 1882), 809; (Saintsbury, George) *Academy*, XXIII (January 20, 1883), 36; *Saturday Review*, LIV (December 9, 1882), 775; *Westminster Review*, LXIII (January, 1883), 279-280.

Apollo and Marsyas, and Other Poems:

Athenaeum (December 13, 1884), 764-766; *Saturday Review*, LX (July 11, 1885), 64; *Spectator*, LVIII (May 23, 1885), 684; [Symonds, John Addington] *Academy*, XXVII (January 31, 1885), 71; *Westminster Review*, LXXXVII (April, 1885), 583.

Imaginary Sonnets:

Athenaeum (August 10, 1889), 187-188; *Literary World*, XXXIX (January 11, 1889), 23; (Pinkerton, Percy E.) *Academy*, XXXIV (October 27, 1888), 264.

The Fountain of Youth:

Athenaeum (August 8, 1891), 203; "Bimini Revisited." Anon. rev., *Spectator*, LXVII (November 21, 1891), 700-701; *The Critic*, Old Series, XVI, New York (November 21, 1891), 280; (Le Gallienne, Richard), *Academy*, XL (August 29, 1891), 169-170.

Sonnets of the Wingless Hours:

Atlantic Monthly, LXXV (March, 1895), 414; *Book Buyer*, XI (December, 1894), 649; *The Critic*, Old Series, XX, New York (August 18, 1894), 105-106; *Nation*, LIX (November 22, 1894), 389; (Noble, James Ashcroft), *Academy*, XLVI (September 1, 1894), 145; *Saturday Review*, LXXVIII (August 11, 1894), 159.

Inferno:

Athenaeum (March 12, 1898), 339; *Bulletine della Societa Dantesea Italiano*, VI (1898-1899), 338-339; *The Illustrated London News*,

CXII (April 9, 1898), 516; *Literature*, II (March 26, 1898), 344; *Saturday Review*, LXXV (March 12, 1898), 370.

Forest Notes:

Academy, LVII (July 15, 1899), 60; *Literature*, V (August 11, 1899), 114; *London Times* (September 21, 1899), 13 (1).

The Lord of the Dark Red Star:

Academy, LXIV (February 28, 1903), 204; *Bookman*, XXIV, London (June, 1903), 113.

Dramatic Sonnets, Poems, and Ballads:

"A Distinguished Limitation." *Academy*, LXIV (May 30, 1903), 529-530; *TLS* (May 15, 1903), 156b.

The Romance of the Fountain:

Academy, LXX (January 6, 1906), 15.

Mimma Bella:

Athenaeum (September 25, 1909), 359; *Literary Digest*, XXXVII, New York (November 21, 1908), 766; *TLS* (October 28, 1909), 396b.

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Some Bibliographical Errors Concerning the Romantic Age

In the last few years there has been a marked revival of interest of scholars in the work of Matthew Gregory Lewis (1775-1818) and an awakening to the fact that his chief literary importance rests on his introduction of German literature into England. In view of this, the following corrections may be of value.

I

Les Orphelines de Werdenberg (Paris, 1809), translated according to the title page by R. J. Durdent from the English of M. G. Lewis, is generally regarded as an original work which has nothing whatsoever to do with Lewis and merely tries to exploit the vogue that the author of *The Monk* enjoyed at that time.[1] The truth is, however, that *Les Orphelines de Werdenberg* is a rather close translation of Lewis's *Feudal Tyrants; or,*

[1] Alice Killen, *Le Roman Terrifiant ou Roman Noir de Walpole à Anne Rad-*

The Counts of Carlsheim and Sargans which came out in 1806 (London, J. F. Hughes). *Feudal Tyrants*, in turn, is a rather free, sometimes boldly paraphrasing translation of *Elisabeth, Erbin von Toggenburg; oder Geschichte der Frauen von Sargans in der Schweiz* (1789) by Christiane Benedicte Eugenie Naubert. This identification is interesting for two reasons. First, it proves that Lewis was not only known in France as the author of the *Monk*, which was very popular in that country,[2] but that there existed also a great[3] interest in at least one other of his works. Secondly, it throws some light on the early history of the European historical novel in which Naubert plays a significant rôle as the forerunner of the nineteenth-century vogue of that narrative type.[4]

II

Another evidence of Lewis's popularity in France during his lifetime is the novel *La Soirée d'Eté* (Paris, 1801, two parts), "par l'auteur du Moine, traduit de l'anglais sur la 2e édition par D. L. M." At the time of publication, however, Lewis had written only one novel, *The Monk*, and there are no other works by him which might possibly have served as a source.

Discussing another so-called translation from "Lewis, auteur du Moine," J. M. Quérard points out that "D. L. M." is Etienne-Léon baron de La Mothe-Langon, a literary hack of prolific output who seems to have been quite popular at that time.[5] It is safe to suppose that La Mothe-Langon is responsible for this "translation" (*La Soirée d'Eté*) as well. At least, it does in no way go back to any of Lewis's works, but rather shows that through the author of the *Monk* sensational "German" literary materials must have enjoyed great popularity in France as well as in England.

III

The question of whether Lewis and Sir Walter Scott were or were not the authors of the *Tales of Terror*, which appeared in 1801 (London, G.

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cliffe, Bibliothèque de la Littérature Comparée (Paris, 1923), IV, 229; Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography* (London, n.d. [1940]), p. 98.

[2] See F. Baldensperger, "*Le Moine* de Lewis en France," *Journal of Comparative Literature* (New York), I (1903).

[3] As early as 1810 a second edition was brought out.

[4] See Kurt Schreinert, *Christiane Benedicte Eugenie Naubert, Germanische Studien*, Heft 130, 1940.

[5] *Les Supercheries Littéraires* (Paris, 1847), II, 608. For this hint I am obliged to the Basle University Library.

Bell) with Lewis's name on the title page, has been discussed frequently, but literary historians have succeeded only in making it *likely* that this slim volume is a parody on Lewis's horror ballads rather than an original work by Lewis.[6] In spite of that, bibliographies and other publications on the subject continue to ascribe the work to Lewis. Evidence that Lewis cannot possibly have been the author comes from an unpublished letter to Walter Scott with whom, among others, Lewis was at that time collaborating on a collection of ballads.[7] The passage on this collection runs: "I am afraid that our publication cannot appear till next season; only 17 Ballads are yet printed out of 60."[8] Now the *Tales of Wonder*, which came out in 1801 as Lewis predicted in this letter, contained exactly sixty ballads; and it is evident from the correspondence with Scott[9] that they were preparing only one edition of ballads at that time. Consequently, Lewis and Scott cannot possibly have written the *Tales of Terror*. This correction is of some interest because Lewis was much decried for this collection of horror ballads. The assumption that he wrote it was based on the fact that in 1799 Lewis and Scott published an *Apology for the Tales of Terror* in a private edition (Kelso, James Ballantyne, limited to twelve copies), the intention being to call the projected collection of ballads *Tales of Terror*. This intention, however, was discarded later.[10]

IV

The East Indian, a witty comedy of manners by M. G. Lewis that was published in 1799, is frequently considered a translation from one of August von Kotzebue's plays,[11] which enjoyed an enormous popularity at that time in Germany as well as in England. This attribution is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that the author states in the preface that "this comedy was written before I was sixteen."[12] This would mean that *The*

[6] See Montague Summers, *A Gothic Bibliography*, under "Tales of Terror." Earlier studies on the question are mentioned there.

[7] See my article, "Die erste Nachwirkung Herders in England," forthcoming in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.*

[8] Dated May 29, 1800. MS 3874 f. 68, *Library of Scotland*, Edinburgh. Published by permission.

[9] Published in part for the first time in my article mentioned in note 7.

[10] See Walter Scott, "Essay on Imitations of the Ancient Ballad," prefixed to *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, for details concerning the preparation of the *Tales of Wonder.*

[11] For example: Ernst Margraf, *Einfluß der deutschen Literatur auf die englische am Ende des 18. und im ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Diss. Leipzig 1901, p. 11. H. C. Herford, *The Age of Wordsworth* (London, 1899), p. 140.

[12] *The East Indian* (London, 1799), p. 3.

East Indian was composed in 1790, that is, about eight years before the Kotzebue vogue in England[13] and some two years before Lewis learned German in Weimar. Later scholars have modified the above-mentioned assumption by saying that "there are also hints from Kotzebue's *Die Indianer in England*"[14] (1790), or that *The East Indian* is "an adaptation of" the Kotzebue drama.[15] Nevertheless, the authoritative reference work of Morgan and Hohlfeld still calls *The East Indian* by Lewis a translation of *Die Indianer in England*.[16] However, both statements are equally incorrect. Even the most cursory comparison shows that Lewis's comedy has nothing whatsoever to do with Kotzebue's play. The very titles do not refer to the same thing: in Lewis's drama the East Indian is an English gentleman coming from India, while Kotzebue's play deals with natives of India.

The mistake can be explained as follows. In the year that Lewis published his *The East Indian* (1799), an anonymous translation of Kotzebue's *Die Indianer in England* came out in London (Longman and Rees, who were *not* Lewis's publishers), and its title was likewise *The East Indian*. An earlier translation (by A. Thomson) had come out in 1796 in the *German Miscellany* under the title of *The Indians in England*, and it is not unlikely that the title of Lewis's comedy was chosen for the second translation on purpose, because of the popularity of Lewis's work. If that was so, the device has certainly been successful as it has fooled generations of scholars.

KARL S. GUTHKE

University of California, Berkeley

Unrecorded Type Specimens at the University of Vermont

In the Whittingham Collection of the Billings Library, University of Vermont, there are a few early nineteenth-century type specimens not listed in Berry and Johnson's *Catalogue of Specimens of Printing Types* (Oxford, 1935). Some of these are of no great interest, being merely incre-

[13] Walter Sellier, *Kotzebue in England*, Diss. Leipzig 1901, pp. 12ff. Lionel Field Thompson, *Kotzebue. A Survey of his Progress in France and England*, *Bibliothèque de la Revue de la Littérature Comparée*, LI (Paris, 1928).

[14] Montague Summers, *The Gothic Quest* (London, 1938), p. 258.

[15] Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama* (Cambridge, 1952), III, 390.

[16] B. Q. Morgan and A. R. Hohlfeld, *German Literature in British Magazines, 1750-1860* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), No. 1149, p. 163.

mental collections from earlier years published in a cover of new date. Caslon and Catherwood, for example, using sheets dating from as far back as 1802, issued "new" specimens in 1815 and 1816. The title pages, unchanged since 1805, appear with their dates erased. A Bower, Bacon, and Bower specimen of 1813 is similarly dated only by its paper cover.

Three examples, however, are of more interest, since they affect terminal dates. Berry and Johnson list an 1813 specimen as the earliest known from the foundry of William Miller of Edinburgh, though he is "said to have issued his first specimen in 1809." A specimen in the Whittingham Collection by Miller is dated 1811; it is a slight volume, containing only book types. Manuscript notes, such as "Nonpareil not yet finished," suggest that Miller's foundry was not yet fully stocked. *A Specimen of Modern Cut Printing-types, by Fry and Steele . . . 1814*, is six years later than the last recorded by Berry and Johnson. Finally, a correction must be made to the remarks in Berry and Johnson (see pages 81, 82) about the partnership of Bessemer and Catherwood. The names of both men appear on a specimen dated 1822, a thin but carefully composed volume in the best "modern" style.

The Whittingham copy of the celebrated Oxford Fell specimen of 1693 is, unfortunately, not so complete as was indicated in Julian Lindsay's article, "Treasure in Vermont" (*The Dolphin*, Winter, 1941, No. 4, Part 2, p. 116). By comparison with the Tregaskis-Hofer copy, issued in facsimile in 1928, the Whittingham copy lacks leaves b1, b2, c4, the bottom half of b4, and the entire "Catalogus Librorum." The "odd leaf" mentioned by Lindsay has been inserted by some former owner, presumably because it illustrates Bishop Fell's Aethiopic type in use. Even in its mutilated state the Fell specimen is of interest because of its rarity: only four copies were known to the publishers of the facsimile.

HERBERT MCARTHUR

University of Vermont

Waverley in America

On April 25, 1822, the Edinburgh house of Archibald Constable, publisher of the Waverley novels, wrote the following paragraph to the Post Office in the Scottish capital:

> Having reason to believe that one or more of the workmen in Mr. Ballantyne's Printing Office are in the Practice of Abstracting sheets of works in the progress

of Printing—more especially those of the Author of Waverley, and forwarding said Sheets by means of the Post Office to America, more particularly to Philadelphia, we beg to know if it is consistent with the rules of the Post Office to stop any such Sheets so transmitted in order to effect the detection of the person found abstracting our property in this manner.[1]

Since the only firm in Philadelphia reprinting Waverley novels at that time was H. C. Carey & I. Lea, it is clear that Constable was thinking of that house as the final recipient of the purloined sheets.

Waverley novels were in such demand in the American market that advance copy was invaluable to publishers. The enormous advantage of even so little as one day's priority in issuing a good title inspired the publisher to exert his utmost ingenuity to outwit his fellows in obtaining, printing, and marketing Scott's works. Houses constantly scrutinized their practices in attempts to identify and eliminate possible areas of delay in forwarding them. Publishers found that it behooved them to lavish extensive personal attention upon the production and distribution of a Scott title. The story is preserved, for example, of "Mathew Carey riding express from Philadelphia to New-York with two wagons full of new books, and disturbing the repose of a Jersey inn-keeper at midnight for a mug of cider."[2]

The publisher needed more than his ingenuity and enterprise could furnish, however, to be successful in the reprint trade in those days. He could pay more for the copy, he could hire more printers, he could plan more effectively his distribution, he could ride express from Philadelphia to New York with new books; yet one awful, variable factor was always present which could cancel out his most careful planning. That was the time required to get copy from England to the United States. One ship might cross the Atlantic in nine weeks, another in five. This uncontrollable aspect of the reprint trade introduced a strong note of speculation into American publishing operations.

The emphasis upon wits, the element of speculation, the need for the utmost speed, together with the lack of copyright protection for English titles, led to many activities which were, if not downright illegal, at least of doubtful propriety. Constable's suspicions, voiced in the letter above, are certainly consistent with the spirit of the American reprint trade. Consequently, when that letter was first published in 1935 the obvious implica-

[1] This letter is preserved in the collection of papers of Archibald Constable & Co., National Library of Scotland, MS 791, p. 537. It is quoted here from David A. Randall's "Waverley in America," *Colophon* n.s. 1 (Summer, 1935), 39-55.

[2] New York *Tribune*, September 19, 1857.

tion was drawn from it—that Mathew Carey, who headed the Philadelphia firm until January 1, 1822, had succeeded in bribing or in planting a journeyman printer in the Ballantyne office to send him galley proofs or finished sheets as Waverley novels came off the presses. That implication has never been challenged but has been accepted by bibliographers as one of the less admirable incidents in the history of Yankee enterprise.

Fortunately for the integrity of the Philadelphia house, however, Carey & Lea are exonerated by certain hitherto unnoticed documents in the Lea & Febiger collections in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. These documents indicate clearly that, far from there having been any rascality on the part of Mathew Carey, the accusation arose from Constable's left hand not knowing what his right hand was doing.

The first of these documents is a letter from Constable to Carey & Lea. Annoyed by the rapidity with which the Philadelphians reissued the Waverley novels, Constable wrote this letter only two days after he had written to the Post Office. He stated that he felt that Carey & Lea were acting most improperly by buying stolen sheets, and announced that his house had taken measures to stop such activities in the future. In the light of later developments, it is difficult to imagine just what these measures could have been. Perhaps one "measure" had been the letter to the Post Office.

The letter was received in Philadelphia on June 7 and immediately baffled the recipients. Mathew Carey had reprinted *Waverley* itself in 1814 and, impressed with its saleability, had fought for priority in issuing all of the subsequent works by the same author. But the firm had never contracted to receive any sheets that it knew, or even suspected, had been stolen.

Unwilling to put all of their faith in a single source, Carey & Lea had been obtaining copy of these works from two different places. The first was their London agent, John Miller, bookseller of Fleet Street, a reputable dealer who had been recommended to Carey by Longmans in 1817 and had served the firm faithfully ever since. He had had explicit instructions to furnish copy of Waverley novels with the greatest possible despatch, but he had always supplied finished volumes. It was unlikely that these finished volumes were being collated and bound from stolen sheets. Miller, it appeared to Carey & Lea, was therefore clear. However, the firm was also purchasing copy of Waverley novels from the old Philadelphia bookseller, Thomas Wardle, and had been doing so for two years. Wardle's copy was furnished in sheets. Obviously, a finger of suspicion now pointed in his direction.

Nevertheless, Carey & Lea wrote to Constable the day after they received his letter. They pleaded the high integrity of their firm and listed several English houses which could furnish business references for them. They then explained, without mentioning names, how they had obtained their early sheets of Waverley.

A person in this City who is connected with a house in London of the highest respectability received several of the Works which he sold to a Bookseller here, who failed ab^{t} 3 years since—When he rec^{d} Ivanhoe Vol 1 he offered it to us for $100 engaging to furnish the remainder before it was rec^{d} by any other person. We bought it & subsequently took from him the Monastery & Abbot—At the time the latter work was rec^{d}, A letter from you to a Gentleman who brought out a copy from you was shewn to a Bookseller in N York complaining you had been anticipated in the Market & wishing him to make some arrangement respecting them—We immediately charged the agent here with impropriety in procuring the Work. He pleaded ignorance of the manner in which it was obtained & wrote to his Correspondents, & when he rec^{d} a reply we saw it—In that they state that the Books were *delivered by you* to them & that there must have been an error in the statement made by us to him—From the high character of the House (the name of which we do not give—from an indisposition to cause any difficulty between you & them) we gave full Credit for their statement.[3]

The London house which had been furnishing sheets to Wardle was Hurst, Robinson & Company, and Hurst, Robinson were Constable's London agents.

Anxious to clear up the misunderstanding which had prompted Constable's letter, Carey & Lea approached Wardle immediately upon its receipt, demanding that he investigate fully the manner in which he was obtaining the sheets he was selling to them. Wardle went to London and obtained through Hurst, Robinson[4] a certificate, dated September 13, 1822, and signed by Constable, which reads as follows:

We hereby certify that Mr. Thomas Wardle Bookseller in Philadelphia did procure from us early copies of the Works of the Author of Waverley up to the Fortunes of Nigel inclusive.[5]

Through Carey & Lea's letter, and Wardle's trip to London, Constable

[3] June 8, 1822, H. C. Carey & I. Lea *Letter Books*, no. 1. These materials are quoted here with the permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[4] Letter to John Miller, dated January 31, 1823, H. C. Carey & I. Lea *Letter Books*, no. 3. This letter was published in Earl L. Bradsher's *Mathew Carey; Editor, Author and Publisher* (New York, 1912), pp. 129-131.

[5] This certificate is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

apparently became aware that his own firm had been responsible for the situation rather than the Philadelphians, because his next letter was written in a most conciliatory manner. He apologized profusely for having made his accusations and had "no doubt the fault is on this side of the water."[6]

The exchange of letters, however, seems to have been profitable to both correspondents. Carey & Lea immediately effected a contract direct with Constable whereby they received advance copy of all Waverley novels from that time until the bankruptcy of the Edinburgh house four years later, thus insuring the priority of their own edition and making them, in effect, Scott's "authorized" American publishers.[7]

David Kaser

Washington University

The Walt Whitman Fellowship: Additions and Corrections

In "The Walt Whitman Fellowship: An Account of its Organization and a Checklist of its Papers," *PBSA* LI (1957), 67-84, I listed 123 Fellowship Papers published between 1894 and 1918, and I remarked (footnote 5, 71) that no program was printed of the 1919 meeting because of Horace Traubel's illness.

Although it is not one of the Fellowship Papers and its format differs from the previous publications, a program for the 1919 meeting has just been discovered in the library of Mr. Charles E. Feinberg of Detroit. It came originally from the Mildred and Frank Bain Whitman Collection; Mrs. Bain was the author of *Horace Traubel* (New York, 1913), and the program may have been kept because there is a note from Traubel written on the back of the sheet. As it is the only known copy of the program and is not among the Fellowship Papers which are now in many university and research libraries, the program is reprinted here:

The
Walt Whitman Fellowship
International

will hold its usual annual meeting on Whitman's birthday, May thirty-first, nineteen hundred nineteen, at the Hotel Brevoort, Eighth Street and Fifth

[6] July 24, 1822, *ibid.*

[7] Carey & Lea could not negotiate directly with Scott for these works because he had not acknowledged their authorship. In 1827, however, they paid him £295 for advance copy of his life of Napoleon, and from that time until his death they dealt directly with him. These developments will be discussed in greater detail in a work to be issued soon by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

Avenue, in two sessions, one at two-thirty in the afternoon, and the other (with dinner and informal speeches) at seven in the evening. All are freely invited to make themselves at home without more formal notice. There are no obligations attached. The dinner will cost two dollars, payable to the hotel that night. The program is appended:

Afternoon

"Walt Whitman after One Hundred Years"

His Religion, *John Haynes Holmes*
His View of Women, *Charlotte Perkins Gilman*
His Personality, *Thomas B. Harned*
His Biographers, *Frederick P. Hier, Jr.*
His Poetry, *George Jay Smith*
His Oriental Influence, *Shigetaka Naganuma*

Evening

Briefs from: George Jay Smith, Percival Wiksell, Thomas Harned, Jessie B. Rittenhouse, Art Young, John Sloan, David Karsner, David Cummings, F. E. Seely, Charles Wharton Stork, Clement Wood, Maurice Beer, Waldo Fawcett, Rosalie Goodyear, and others.

Horace Traubel, (Secretary-Treasurer), can be addressed till May thirty-first at Four thirty eight West Twentieth Street, N. Y. After that at Two hundred Elm Street, Camden, New Jersey.

The program is printed in dark green ink on a pale green sheet measuring 12 by 9¼ inches. The note on the back, which is very difficult to read, is to Frank Bain and begins, "The draft is here." As there were no copies among Traubel's papers, it is possible that only proofs were printed, with only this one surviving.

Also among the Bain papers were three other programs: an announcement of the second annual meeting of The Walt Whitman Fellowship, Canadian Branch, May 31, 1917 (I mentioned only the first meeting, page 84); announcement of meeting of the Chicago Branch of the Fellowship, May 31, 1912, signed by Morris Lychenheim, Traubel's brother-in-law; and a copy of the 1918 program of the Chicago Branch. At the 1918 meeting, the following were among the speakers: Burton Rascoe, Harriet Monroe, Ben Hecht, Sherwin [*sic*] Anderson, Carl Sandburg, and Clarence Darrow.

My article in the PAPERS contains four errors in names. I am grateful to Miss Gertrude Traubel for pointing these out: *page 68, lines 4-5*, for "Robert Henn," read: Robert Henri; for "Ordway Bridge," read: Ord-

way Partridge; for "Arthur Goodman," read: Arthur Goodwin; and *page 69, line 40*, for "Harrison O. Morris," read: Harrison S. Morris.

WILLIAM WHITE

Wayne State University

Book Reviews

TAYLOR, ARCHER. *Book Catalogues: Their Varieties and Uses.* Chicago, The Newberry Library, 1957. xii, 284 pp. Frontispiece. 9 x 6 inches. $6.50.

Professor Taylor has continued his studies in various aspects of bibliography and its history by compiling a general survey of book catalogues, mostly of European libraries, with special emphasis on those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Book catalogues issued prior to the seventeenth century were apt to be mere manuscript inventories, most of which have never been printed. The great catalogues of the seventeenth century, such as those made for the libraries of Jean des Cordes, Jacques de Thou, Charles Maurice le Tellier and others, were widely used as bibliographical tools in an age when bibliographies were not as plentiful as they later became. As such tools bibliographies began to supersede catalogues of institutional and particularly of private libraries in the seventeenth century, and by the end of the eighteenth century compilers of private library catalogues tended to abandon efforts to make their catalogues useful as reference works—by giving up full entries, author and subject indexes, tables of contents, etc. The use of library catalogues as sources of bibliographical and many other kinds of information, however, has by no means been abandoned, and they are much used today by collectors, librarians, bibliographers, dealers and others.

In his chapter on "The Varieties of Book Catalogues" Professor Taylor discusses owner catalogues of private and institutional libraries, dealers' and auction catalogues, publishers' catalogues, and bibliographical compilations based on them. He cites and evaluates, country by country, many of the more important library catalogues, and has provided a particularly good survey of those produced in Spain, some of which apparently cannot be purchased and are hard to find in institutions.

A long chapter on "The Uses of Catalogues" points out how they may be used to identify authors and titles, to assemble material on countless sub-

jects, to obtain information on authors, printing, papermaking, the book-trade, histories of libraries, prices and provenances of books. Catalogues reveal the nature, structure and classification of knowledge in various periods and countries. The author, for instance, is impressed by the fact that Prosper Marchand, compiler of the catalogue of the library of Joachim Faultrier (1709) made the innovation of giving encyclopedic works the initial position in his catalogue at the expense of theological books. "The fact that [Marchand] a French Catholic who became a Protestant and removed to Amsterdam in 1711 devised this arrangement seems significant." Catalogues also reveal the fluctuating tastes of readers and book collectors in various countries and periods. As an example Professor Taylor cites the interest Englishmen of the Enlightenment had in Italian books particularly of the sixteenth century. An interesting specialized use of dealers' and auction catalogues is that of obtaining texts (although usually incomplete) of autograph letters. Gordon N. Ray used, in the preparation of his edition of the *Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray*, texts of letters taken from catalogues when he could not find the letters themselves or other sources.

Professor Taylor devotes 51 pages to his third chapter: "Bibliographies of Catalogues," containing sections on general bibliographies, bibliographies of bibliographies of catalogues of private libraries, and bibliographies of catalogues of private libraries, of institutional libraries, of dealers' catalogues and of publishers' catalogues. He discusses works in this field, including some that list only a few catalogues, in perhaps greater detail than they deserve.

Chapter IV contains "A List of Catalogues of Private Libraries that have been Recommended for Reference Use." This list of 140 catalogues "contains many important polymathic catalogues, the best specialized catalogues published before the middle of the eighteenth century, and some catalogues published after the middle of the century that are themselves rare or list rare books." Items are entered in the list as the result of recommendations by one or more of a group of bibliographers including Dr. Taylor himself. In the list of 140 catalogues, entered alphabetically under the names of owners, entries include titles, compilers, places, dates, numbers of volumes, locations of copies, and in some cases lengthy annotations. Neither pagination nor the number of lots is given for any catalogue. Accordingly one cannot obtain from this main list an accurate idea of the sizes of the libraries catalogued, particularly of those represented by one-

volume catalogues. However, there is a supplementary list of 24 catalogues (selected from the larger list) which seem to the author to be "the most important polymathic catalogues." The notations for these 24 catalogues include the numbers of titles or lots in each.

The book has no less than four indexes. For indexing, Professor Taylor has evidently concluded that it will be more useful to the users of his book to have the material divided into four categories. To this reviewer it seems that it would be more satisfactory to look for material in a single index.

GEORGE L. MCKAY

The Grolier Club

KRONENBERG, MARIA ELIZABETH. *Campbell's Annales de la Typographie Néerlandaise au XVe Siècle, Contributions to a New Edition.* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1956. 168 pp. 11 x 7¾ inches. Dutch Guilders 35.

In this enormously useful volume, Dr. M. E. Kronenberg has assembled in practical form the vast body of information which she has been entering into her copy of Campbell over a long lifetime of bibliographical research. Thus, some future editor of a new Campbell will have at hand all the accumulated data which have come to light in the past four-score years. One trusts that he will be as grateful to Dr. Kronenberg as her careful research and meticulous attention to detail richly deserve.

In Chapter I, Dr. Kronenberg records 458 editions not known to Campbell (CA), including no fewer than 88 printings of Donatus. Some 69 of these are from the anonymous Dutch press (? presses) perhaps established at Utrecht. One may here note that the leading authority on early Low Country printing makes this statement: "They were formerly designated as 'Costeriana,' but with the loss of belief in Laurens Jansz. Coster's activity, the name has fallen into disuse." To offset this gain in new editions, Chapter II records the loss of at least 212 numbers, which must henceforth be deleted from the roster of Low Country incunabula. In Chapter III, one finds three Concordances, which correlate the CA numbers with no fewer than 34 other bibliographies and catalogues. This reviewer would have been happier if, in the column for the *Gesamtkatalog*, Dr. Kronenberg had supplied the Hain, Copinger, or Reichling numbers where the GW entry was still wanting. Finally, Chapter IV provides a "List of copies not mentioned in Chapters I-III"; this locates copies which

may not be discovered through any of the works referred to in the previous chapters. An Addendum supplies a list of Campbell numbers now represented in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress, most of which came from the Arenberg collection.

If criticism is to be voiced, it must be directed chiefly at Chapter IV. The usefulness of this section could have been much enhanced if Dr. Kronenberg had inquired more actively through such organizations as the Bibliographical Society of America. A few minutes of simple checking reveals these USA copies not locatable through the means provided by Dr. Kronenberg: Yale—CA 137, 524b, 678; Bryn Mawr—CA 1462 and 1624; Illinois UL—CA 392 and 501; Harvard—CA 943 (no longer in the Arenberg collection); and Morgan—CA 385, 586, 1054, and 1316. The Morgan Library can now also list CA 1027a, where Dr. Kronenberg knew of only (and could not locate) the Dyson Perrins copy; this same copy was described at length by the present writer on pages 52-55 of *Standards of Bibliographical Description* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949). It may be pertinent to point out that this book was also discussed thoroughly by Félix Olmedo, *Diego Ramírez Villaescusa (1459-1537)*, Madrid, 1944; there are imperfect copies in the Colegio de Deusto (Bilbao) and in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, it may further be noted, possesses the following copies which cannot be traced through Dr. Kronenberg's Chapters I-IV: CA 32, 243, 791, 1000, 1042 (? or 1043), 1424, 1472, 1669, 1694, 1742, and 1752a. The same library also has a copy of a *Dominus quae pars*, tentatively assigned to [Gouda, Gerard Leeu, c. 1484] which does not correspond to CA 607-610, Pr 8934, NK 727-728, or NK 2795-2800. Under CA 1392 (pp. 100 and 165), Dr. Kronenberg mentions the (former) Harper copy of this rare Brito imprint; the present (private) owner of the volume would have been glad to point out that the book also contains a Hieronymus, *Speculum valde horribile*, produced by the same press [Bruges, Jean Brito, c. 1477-1481] and apparently unknown to Campbell and Dr. Kronenberg.

While the location of additional copies would be useful to the scholar seeking a book close at hand, it contributes little to a new edition of Campbell. For this important purpose, Dr. Kronenberg's work is of inestimable value, even though, as she clearly recognizes, new additions will surely continue to turn up. In great modesty she states (p. 7): "Still I trust I am not presumptuous in thinking that my self-imposed task has not been in

vain." It certainly has not, Dr. Kronenberg, and we are all deeply indebted to you for this major contribution to the study of Low Country incunabula.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

COLLISON, ROBERT L. *Book Collecting; an Introduction to Modern Methods of Literary and Bibliographical Detection. By Robert L. Collison, Fellow of the Library Association, Reference Librarian, City of Westminster. With a Foreword by Andrew H. Horn, Ph.D., Librarian of the University of North Carolina.* Fair Lawn, N. J., Essential Books, 1957. 244 pp. 30 plates. 7¾ x 5 inches. $5.00.

This is an admirable handbook for bibliographical tyros, potential book collectors, intelligent laymen, and library school students. The style is vivacious and widely allusive, the illustrations numerous and aptly chosen, the glossaries, tables and appendices packed with useful information. Besides the five-page General Bibliography, many bibliographical references at the end of each chapter—on Bookbindings, Manuscripts, Paper and Watermarks, Printers and Printing, Cancels, Illustrations, etc.—are "provided" (that currently fashionable verb is used in the book thirty-seven times). Its English author, Mr. Collison, was a Fulbright Scholar at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1951-52; he refers to Lawrence "Clarke" Powell and the Huntington Library in San "Merino."

The enthusiastic Foreword by Dr. Horn—now Librarian of Occidental College in Los Angeles—calls Mr. Collison "a supreme reference librarian." Supreme, no doubt, but not infallible. Mr. Collison does not always let his left hand know what his right is doing. Look on this picture,

> BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, founded 1904.
> Leading American society for bibliographers. Quarterly publication, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, and monographs from time to time (p. 205).

then on this:

> *Publications* [*sic*] *of the Bibliographical Society of America.*
> Often referred to as *PBSA*. The leading American journal of bibliographical research during the past sixty years or more [*sic*] (p. 192).

Throughout the text, the PAPERS are always referred to as *Publications*.

Appendix IV: "Who's Who and What's What" has, among over 200 names, this gratifying entry: "WARDE, Mrs. Beatrice. Typographer, born in the U.S.A., resident in England. One of the foremost thinkers in the field. . . ." Mrs. Warde's *alter ego* Paul Beaujon is not mentioned; not too serious an omission, however. But Mr. Collison could have found birth and death dates in *Who's Who in America* for Douglas Crawford McMurtrie (1888-1944) and Victor Hugo Paltsits (1867-1952); and in Randolph Adams's *Three Americanists* for George Brinley (1817-1875). Since other Presidents of the B.S.A. are listed, it should have been noted that R. W. G. Vail, "One-time Permanent Secretary," was also President of the Society in 1944-45.

"Wanda Gàg [*sic*] is an American" (p. 104). Wanda Gág (1893-1946) *was* an American, and one of those authors whose name is consistently misspelled—as it is, for instance, throughout *Reading Without Boundaries; Essays presented to Anne Carroll Moore,* edited by Mrs. Frances Lander Spain (The New York Public Library, 1956. This *Festschrift* also refers to Howard "Haycrafts," "Ann" Parrish, Constance "Lindsey" Skinner, Bertha "Mahoney" Miller, Anne "Carrol" Moore, Miss "Hewin," and Eulalie "Stienmetz" Ross. Two of the contributors, as it happens, are also two of the four co-authors of *A Critical History of Children's Literature* (Macmillan, 1953), which in many respects strongly resembled another *Festschrift* for Miss Moore. Its spirit was willing, but its spelling was weak).

The first half-tone was printed in New York State in 1880, not "1800" (p. 146 of *Book Collecting*). "The Golden Cockerell [*sic*] Press" (p. 198 and Index) seems tantalizingly familiar until one finds a different pair of Cockerells on p. 209. Ada Nisbet's book is *Dickens & Ellen Ternan,* not "Charles Dickens and Ellen Ternan" (p. 55); Daisy Ashford was not "Asford" (p. 103). The 1955 volume of Evans's *American Bibliography* is overlooked (p. 101) and Charlton Hinman's name does not appear in connection with "the invention of a machine at the Folger Shakespeare Library" (p. 83) or in the "Who's Who."

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

New York University

STERN, MADELEINE B. *Imprints on History: Book Publishers and American Frontiers.* Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1956. 492 pp. Plates. 8⅝ x 5¾ inches. $7.50.

The nineteenth century was a time of vigorous growth and movement

in the United States. The settlement of the frontier, the construction of canals and roads and the creation of railway and steamboat routes helped to weld the nation into a cohesive unit. These are facts which are known and duly recognized. Less well known, however, is the story of some other frontiersmen, the early printers, and their allies the publishers and booksellers. These pioneers, whose tools were the type font and printing press, were also instrumental in settling the frontier; a frontier not only geographical but cultural and spiritual.

Through the efforts of these early printers and publishers the ideas of the time spread. Whether it was Transcendentalism, the romance of a burgeoning industrialism, the impact of immigration or the increasing demand on the part of women for a larger rôle in the social scheme, the purveyers of print saw to it that these issues became more generally known. To this degree these men were pioneers who penetrated the frontiers of the American mind and spirit.

It is a curious fact that there was often a striking similarity among the printers and publishers of the last century. The "composite publisher," as the author observes, was born in New England or New York, possessed little formal schooling, served some sort of apprenticeship, either in a newspaper office, printing plant or bookstore and, finally, often with borrowed funds, branched out on his own.

Specifically, who were some of these men? There was James Bemis, pioneer printer of Western New York (one of whose "apprentices," Elisha Loomis, reached what is now Hawaii);[1] Anton Roman of California, friend of Bret Harte; Robert Fergus, the Scots printer of early Chicago; the elegant John Russell, whose bookstore was a focus for the literary lights of ante-bellum Charleston; William S. Hilliard of Boston, who supplied books to Thomas Jefferson's beloved University of Virginia; and Jacob Cruger, who ground out his printing in a small hut in Houston during the first days of Texan independence.

These are names undoubtedly familiar to book collectors, but Miss Stern also writes of such better known figures as the Frank Leslies; of George Washington Carleton, who published the works of "Artemus Ward" and "Josh Billings," and of Aaron K. Loring who published the works of Horatio Alger, Jr., but, alas! without emulating the acumen of Alger's heroes, since Loring ended in financial distress.

[1] See "The First Printing in Hawaii," by Thomas Marshall Spaulding, *PBSA* L (1956), 313-327.

"Publishing," says the author, . . . "is a business, but it is also a cultural trusteeship." In this connection, Miss Stern, noting that there are over two hundred firms founded prior to 1900 still in existence, makes the interesting suggestion that publishers who balanced a sensible regard for business with an awareness of the cultural importance of their wares have endured. Although this point cannot be proved with mathematical certainty it does have implications which present-day firms might well consider. In the final analysis a book is always something more than merchandise.

It is obvious that much research has gone into the writing of this book. There are seventy-five pages of notes on sources which include, in addition to rich primary material, a considerable amount of useful bibliographical data. Through a style which is both colorful and assured Miss Stern has used her facts to illuminate a relatively untouched area of American social history. She has produced a book which is at once authoritative and readable.

James J. Heslin

The New-York Historical Society

Travel in Aquatint and Lithography, 1770-1860, from the library of J. R. Abbey. Volume I: World, Europe, Africa. A bibliographical catalogue. London, Privately printed at the Curwen Press, 1956. xiii, 299 pp. 20 collotype plates; 23 line cuts. 12¼ x 9½ inches. £25 for Vol. I and II (to follow).

This is the first of two volumes that will complete the catalogues of Major J. R. Abbey's unique collection of English plate books dating from 1770-1860. The first two stout volumes dealt with *Scenery of Great Britain and Ireland* (1952) and *Life in England* (1953). The present, slightly thinner volume, catalogues English books of views, mostly of Europe and Africa. A second volume will cover Asia, Oceania, Antarctica and America, and will contain the indices for both volumes.

This is the greatest book catalogue that any private collector has issued for a very long time. For a parallel, one has to think back to the catalogues of J. P. Morgan (1906-1907), Fairfax-Murray (1910-1913), and the French engravings of Joseph Widener (1923). Major Abbey has this happy advantage over these old collectors in that his books, being fairly recent, have until recently been procurable, so that his catalogue is prac-

tically complete in his field. It is the first good treatise on an important subject, and is so well done that one cannot imagine its ever having to be done over again.

The present volume of Travel describes 347 books in a style that assembles all the needed facts clearly and concisely. Major Abbey and Michael Oliver have given the first exhaustive account of these books; the first one that transcribes complete title pages and often reproduces them, gives the usual indications of size, collation and issues, and lists all the illustrations by full titles. Then under the modest heading of "Notes" there follows a documentation drawn from contemporary sources that sometimes fill several pages and covers every aspect of interest, from the price of publication to the conditions under which the artist created the illustrations. The notes on Hullmandel are particularly valuable and throw an unexpected light on the introduction of lithography into England. This is much more than a catalogue; it is a bit of background for art and life during a great age of England.

Why have these sumptuous plate books waited so long to be taken as seriously as they deserve? Was it because every English child helped himself to a few from the bottom of the bookcase on rainy days, and spread them on a carpet until they became so much a part of his vision of the world that he could not imagine a world without them and so forgot that they existed? Or did they seem beneath collecting so long as they could be found in every bookshop? Those happy days, alas, are past, now that so many of these books have been cut up to stick on lampshades and expensive trash baskets. Like anything else, they look better when there are fewer. And now that they cost more, we need Major Abbey's collations to ascertain what kind of copy we are spending a considerable amount to acquire. The new collectors who are bound to follow in Major Abbey's lead must create a market that will save many of these splendid books from the ignominy of dismemberment.

A. Hyatt Mayor

Metropolitan Museum of Art

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Supplement to De Ricci's Census

The Bibliographical Society of America has undertaken the completion and publication of the Supplement to Seymour De Ricci's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. The Supplement was announced in 1948 by Dr William Jerome Wilson and Professor C. U. Faye under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. It was planned to include manuscript holdings of individuals and institutions as of 31 December 1948 and not recorded in the original *Census*. Professor Faye assumed responsibility for collecting descriptions and other data. The response from libraries and private collectors was excellent. Unfortunately, funds for the actual publication were not immediately forthcoming and the project of necessity had to be shelved. The compilation with its editorial revisions passed into the custody of theMediaeval Academy of America, under whose supervision a revised typescript of the greater part of it was prepared.

The Bibliographical Society of America, recognizing the importance of the work and the amount of devoted labor already expended on it by many persons, is sponsoring a renewal of the project and will underwrite its publication. Dr Wilson, Professor Faye, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Mediaeval Academy of America have all agreed to the plan. Dr W. H. Bond, Curator of Manuscripts in the Houghton Library of Harvard University, has been delegated by the Society to complete the editorial work and see it through the press.

The long delay in publication has been unfortunate but is not altogether a loss, for in the meantime numerous important manuscripts have entered American collections and it will now be possible to include them in the Supplement. Accordingly, librarians and private collectors are urged to contribute, for inclusion in the Supplement, (1) descriptions of all manuscripts received before 1 January 1957 and not previously described in the *Census* or for the Supplement; (2) all changes of location of previously de-

scribed manuscripts; and (3) amplifications and emendations of previous entries, either in the *Census* or already submitted for the Supplement. Scholars who can provide additional information or corrections concerning American-held manuscripts are also invited to do so. The rules for entries and revisions are essentially those laid down by Professor Faye, and they are summarized below.

To avoid further delays, 1 January 1958 has been set as the deadline for receipt of additional material for inclusion in the Supplement. Apart from the projected volume, the Supplement will be continued on an annual basis, with new descriptions and revisions appearing once a year in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* and cumulated with an index in volume form at appropriate intervals. Contributions received after the deadline or concerning manuscripts acquired after 1 January 1957 will be included in the first annual compilation. Libraries and collectors are invited to contribute descriptions of new material on a current basis so that the utility of the Supplement to scholarship can be not only maintained but increased.

The Bibliographical Society of America,
John D. Gordan, *President*
Curt F. Bühler, *Chairman,* Publications Committee

25 March 1957.

All material for incorporation in the Supplement should be addressed to

Dr W. H. Bond,
The Houghton Library,
Harvard University,
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

As in the original *Census,* certain classes of material will be *excluded* from the Supplement: Oriental manuscripts, all manuscripts written after 1600, epigraphic material, and all papyri.

Descriptions should be typed, double-spaced, and one to a sheet of standard 8½ x 11 inch typewriter paper. Contributors should retain carbon copies for easy reference should problems arise. Editorial work will be greatly facilitated if descriptions are arranged in numbered paragraphs as outlined below. Proper names and titles should follow the forms and spellings established in the General Index to the *Census* (1940), or, failing that, the practice of the Library of Congress. In any event, spellings should be regularized and abbreviations expanded. References to published books and articles should take the forms prescribed by *The MLA Style Sheet.*

Rules for New Descriptions

Please include all eleven numbered paragraphs listed below; when there is no information for a given paragraph, leave a blank after its number.

(1) *Numerical designation:* the call-number, shelf-mark, or other official designation of the manuscript.

(2) *Contents:* each text recorded in order under author and title; identified but anonymous texts under title; unidentified works under initial and concluding words, italicized and separated by the symbol X. A group of related minor items may be lumped together under a suitable collective title, such as "Medical Recipes." When there is more than one text in a volume, each item should be followed by its inclusive foliation in parentheses, with dashes separating the items. Spellings should be regularized and abbreviations expanded, and names and titles should follow as far as possible the usage of the original *Census.*

(3) *Material:* abbreviated Pap. (paper) or Vel. (vellum).

(4) *Foliation or pagination:* the number of folios (ff.) or pages (pp.) Indicate important gaps or omissions.

(5) *Size:* first the vertical, then the horizontal measurement of an average leaf to the nearest centimeter.

(6) *Place, date, scribe, and patron,* as far as they can be established.

(7) *Ornamentation:* miniatures, maps, diagrams, illuminated initials. Enumerate but do not give location.

(8) *Binding:* date, color, material, and binder, if known; also the occurrence of supra-libris bookstamps.

(9) *Provenance:* former owners listed chronologically, with dates of sales and lot-numbers when known, mentioning inscriptions, bookplates, and other marks of ownership. When possible, include the immediate source and date of acquisition by the present owner.

(10) *References:* citations of published information about the manuscript, particularly substantive accounts and collations, and illustrations; passing references should in general be omitted. Unpublished collations and studies, with their location, should be listed.

(11) *Date* of report, collector or institution, and person preparing it; for editorial reference.

Rules for Amplifications and Emendations

Included in this category are changes and additions to descriptions submitted earlier for the Supplement as well as those in the original *Census*. Please include paragraph 1, followed by such others as are appropriate.

(1) *Identification* of entry to be expanded or emended: reference to page, item number, etc. in original *Census*, in order to provide positive identification.

(2) *Change of ownership or location*, giving new owner with address and date of transfer.

(3) *Corrections* of errata found in the original *Census*.

(4) *References* to published or unpublished studies additional to those listed in the *Census*.